

# Center for Slavic and East European Studies

Newsletter



Spring 2002  
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## Newsletter of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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Please send suggestions, corrections, or inquiries to the Newsletter editors at the address above. We welcome your comments and suggestions.

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## Notes from the Director

The world has changed since my last communications in the fall issue of the *Newsletter*. In the aftermath of 9/11, we have attempted—together with everyone else—to reorient ourselves and to rethink the activities of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. We are eager to use the extensive resources of the Berkeley campus—and especially those of the Institute—to deepen our knowledge of the issues raised by the dramatic events of the past four months.

The repercussions of September 11 will be explored at this year's Annual Teacher Outreach Conference (April 13–14, 2002), "Reconfiguring East and West in the Bush-Putin Era." Taking as a point of departure the major shifts have taken place in American and Russian foreign policy after 9/11, the conference will consider the implications of these changes for multilateral organizations and treaties, the "war on terror" in the Soviet successor states, and new dimensions of East-West relations. A related set of issues will provide the focus for the XXVI Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, "Political Violence in Russia and Eastern Europe," which will be held this year at Stanford University on April 26. We have participated in planning a new course offered during the spring semester, The Setting of the Post-9/11 Conflict: Afghanistan and Its Neighbors. Details about the course (IAS 180.2), which is scheduled for one evening a week and is open to the public, can be found elsewhere in this issue.

Needless to say, September 11 has brought new public attention to Central Asia, where the Soviet successor states are playing a key role in the US-led campaign in Afghanistan. In this connection, we are fortunate to have our recently established Caucasus and Central Asia Program (CCAsP) to promote research and teaching on this complex and relatively unknown part of the world. I am therefore particularly pleased to announce that CCAsP has received a three-year grant from the National Security Education Program (NSEP). The NSEP grant, which begins in January 2002, provides funds for a rich program that includes an annual visiting professorship to augment our courses on Central Asia; language training for graduates and undergraduates in the languages of Central Asia; student fellowships as well as summer language training grants for study abroad; travel grants for research and exchange; and a conference and lecture series to bring specialists on the region to UC Berkeley.

With this welcome infusion of funds, CCAsP will be expanding its role on the Berkeley campus. CCAsP is issuing a newsletter and is enhancing its Web site. On March 16 and 17, CCAsP will hold its annual conference, which this year will be entitled "Currents, Cross-Currents, and Conflict: Transnationalism and Diaspora in Central Asia and the Caucasus."

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CCAsP and ISEES will also cosponsor a special program on April 21, "A Musical Journey Along the Silk Roads," which will be held in conjunction with Yo-Yo Ma's "Silk Road Project" sponsored by Cal Performances (April 19-28).

We are looking forward to a full program of events during the spring semester, including the second Peter N. Kujachich Annual Lecture, to be presented by Professor Susan Woodward, the Graduate Center, CUNY, on February 28 and the Colin Miller Memorial Lecture by Strobe Talbott (date to be announced). We also invite you to be sure to visit our web site, <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~isees/index.html>, which has a special section devoted to September 11 and its aftermath, including information on

campus events, courses, readings, links, and images. The site also includes back issues of our newsletters and working papers, as well as updates on all our events.

I look forward to seeing many of you during the semester.

Victoria E. Bonnell  
Director of the Institute of Slavic, East European,  
and Eurasian Studies  
Professor, Department of Sociology

## Newsletter Special Supplement Forthcoming

We are publishing a special supplement to this newsletter to feature a paper entitled "The Migration of Serbs and Albanians within and between Inner Serbia and Kosovo c. 1930-1981." Authored by Professor E. A. Hammel and Dr. Mirjana Stevanovic, this paper is a product of a research project funded in part by the Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies.

The special supplement will be sent in the coming weeks to our subscribers and can be found in PDF format on our newsletter Web page, <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~csees/publications.html>. For more information about the Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies, see the announcement on page 32.

## Caucasus and Central Asia Newsletter

The Caucasus and Central Asia Program (CCAsP) within ISEES is pleased to announce the publication of its first issue of the *Caucasus and Central Asia Newsletter*. Published twice a year, the newsletter is distributed in print to a community of Caucasus and Central Asia scholars; issues are available to all in PDF format on CCAsP's Web site at <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucasus/publications.html>.

For more information, contact the Caucasus and Central Asia Program at: [ccasp@uclink.berkeley.edu](mailto:ccasp@uclink.berkeley.edu),

<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucasus/>, (510) 643-5845, or by mail at CCAsP, University of California, Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall #2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

Winter 2001-2002 issue now available on line

# Spring 2002 Courses

## Selected Faculty Course Offerings and Selected Area-Related Courses

Anthropology 189.1	Culture, Art, and Knowledge	A. Yurchak
Anthropology 240B	Fundamentals of Anthropological Theory	D. Moore / A. Yurchak
Art 160.5	Conceptual Art Workshop	V. Komar / A. Melamid
Comp Lit 155.2 (Slavic 131)	The European Avant-Garde: From Futurism to Surrealism	H. Ram
Comp Lit 170.2 (Slavic 146)	East/West Encounters: "Quest and Conquest"	H. Ram
Dramatic Art 151B	Theater History	M. Gordon
Dramatic Art 166.1 (Slavic 140)	The Performing Arts in 20th-Century Russia	A. Muza
Dramatic Art 266.2	Russian Theatre, 1898-1938	M. Gordon
Economics 215A	Political Economics	G. Roland
Economics 261	Transition Economics	G. Roland / Y. Qian
English 100.4	Junior Seminar: The Book as Form and Metaphor	N. Popov
Geography 215	Post-State Socialism: China through a Russia Lens	Y. Hsing
History 100.4 (Slavic 158)	The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia	J. Connelly / R. Alexander
History 101.4	Students and Student Movements in Modern European and American History	R. Zelnik
History 171C	The Soviet Union and After	D. Orlovsky
History 177A	Armenia	S. Astourian
History 275B.2	Introduction to Late Modern European History	R. Zelnik
History 280B.1	Totalitarianism in Europe: A Seminar in Comparative History	J. Connelly / M. Gruttner
History 280B.2	The Revolutionary Experience in Russia	D. Orlovsky
History 280B.4	Ethnic Relations and Conflicts: Theories and Case-Studies	S. Astourian
History 285B.3 (Slavic 280.1)	Topics in the Histories of Cities	D. Frick
IAS 150.2	Gender in Post-Socialist Transitions	A. Ishkanian
IAS 180.2	The Setting of the Post-9/11 Conflict: Afghanistan and Its Neighbors	T. Metcalf
<b>See page 29 for a schedule of public lectures associated with IAS 180.2</b>		
Journalism 234.3	Freedom of the Press: Political Change and the Media in Hungary	N. Denton / P. Molnar
Linguistics 21	Languages and Peoples of the World	J. Nichols
Music 170	History of Western Music in the 20th Century	R. Taruskin
Music 220	Music Criticism	R. Taruskin
Near Eastern Studies 126	Silk Road Art and Archaeology	S. Mehendale
Political Science 24 (Geog 24)	Freshman Seminar: "September 11: Causes, Consequences, and Policy Implications"	G. Breslauer
Political Science 129B	Russia After Communism	M. S. Fish
Political Science 139C	Naming and Bounding the Post-Cold War World	K. Jowitt
Political Science 141C	Politics and Government in Eastern Europe	A. Janos
Political Science 200	Comparative Politics	M. S. Fish
Rhetoric 164	Genocide and Its Prosecution in Rwanda and Bosnia	A. Des Forges / D. Cohen
Slavic L&L R5B.1	War, Writing, and Memory	C. Caes
Slavic L&L R5B.2	Authors and Actors	B. Wolfson
Slavic L&L 46	20th-Century Russian Literature	A. Nesbet
Slavic L&L 50	Introduction to Russian/East European/Eurasian Cultures	A. Timberlake
Slavic L&L 131 (Comp Lit 155.2)	The European Avant-Garde: From Futurism to Surrealism	H. Ram
Slavic L&L 133 (English 166.2)	The Russian Novel and the West: Russian, French, and American Novels of Adultery	L. Knapp
Slavic L&L 134C	Dostoevsky	L. Knapp
Slavic L&L 140 (DramArt 166.1)	Performing Arts in Russia in the 20th Century	A. Muza
Slavic L&L 146 (Comp Lit 170.2)	East/West Encounters: "Quest and Conquest"	H. Ram
Slavic L&L 158 (History 100.4)	The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia	R. Alexander / J. Connelly
Slavic L&L 160	Survey of Czech Literature	A. Timberlake
Slavic L&L 162	Topics in Czech Language and Literature	A. Timberlake
Slavic L&L 188	Russian Prose	O. Matich
Slavic L&L 222	Introduction to the Descriptive Grammar of Slavic Languages	J. Nichols

Slavic L&L 246B	Contemporary Russian Literature	O. Matich
Slavic L&L 280.1 (History 285B.3)	Topics in the Histories of Cities	D. Frick
Slavic L&L 280.2	Graduate Seminar: "Self and History"	I. Paperno
Slavic L&L 298.1	Readings in South Slavic Linguistics	R. Alexander
East European Studies 100	Advanced Hungarian Readings	A. Mihalik
Sociology 101B	Sociological Theory	M. Burawoy
Sociology 170	Social Change	G. Eyal
Sociology 202A	Contemporary Sociological Theory	M. Burawoy
Sociology 202B	Foucault and Sociology	G. Eyal

## Languages Courses

In addition to the courses listed above, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures offers Bulgarian, Czech, Georgian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and Serbian/Croatian.

## Campus Visitors for Spring 2002

**Dr. Stephan Astourian** has been reappointed as the William Saroyan Visiting Professor in Armenian Studies for the academic year. He is teaching courses on Armenian history and on ethnic relations and conflict through the Department of History this spring.

**Dr. Oleg Billy** is visiting ISEEES this year as a Fulbright scholar, conducting research on national and social identity as the basis for state-building in postcommunist societies. He heads the research group on Philosophy of Culture in the Department of Philosophy of Culture, Institute of Philosophy, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences.

**Mr. Nick Denton** is visiting the Graduate School of Journalism this semester where he is team-teaching a course on the media in Hungary. He served as a correspondent based in Budapest for the *Financial Times*.

**Dr. Maarten Fraanje** comes to the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year from Leiden University, the Netherlands. Author of *The Epistolary Novel in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Munchen, 2001), he will be working on a project on love in eighteenth-century Russian culture.

**Dr. Armine Ishkanian** is a visiting lecturer this spring, teaching a course on women in postcommunist societies, funded by our Title VI grant from the US Department of Education. She earned her Ph.D. in anthropology from UC San Diego, and her dissertation is entitled "Hearths and Modernity: The Role of Women in NGOs in Post-Soviet Armenia."

**Dr. Matthew Kay** is visiting the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year. He is working on East

Slavic "sacred philology" and on narratology of folklore. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University, and his dissertation, entitled "Translating Holy Writ into East Slavic: The Peresopnyc'ke Jevanhelije," examines the first translation of the gospel into Ukrainian.

**Dr. Sharena Kurtsikidze** is teaching Slavic 298, "Studies in the Languages of the Caucasus: Georgian Language" with Professor Johanna Nichols this year. Sharena holds a Ph.D. in cultural anthropology from the Academy of Sciences of Georgia and a degree in simultaneous interpreting.

**Dr. Peter Molnar** is visiting the Graduate School of Journalism this semester where he is team-teaching a course on the media in Hungary. He is a former member of Hungarian Parliament, specializing in media law.

**Dr. Daniel Orlovsky** is a visiting the Department of History this spring, where he is teaching courses on Russian and Soviet history. He is a professor in the Department of History and the George Bouhe Research Fellow in Russian Studies at Southern Methodist University.

**Dr. Ruben Safrastyan** comes to ISEEES this year from the Institute of Oriental Studies, Armenian National Academy of Sciences. As a Fulbright scholar, he is conducting research on interstate relations between Turkey and Armenia in the 1990s.

# Faith as Eros: The Modernist Rhetoric of Desire in the Poetry of Zinaida Gippius

Stiliana Milkova

Stiliana Milkova is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Comparative Literature, where she is studying English, Russian, and Bulgarian literatures. She presented this paper at the Slavic Forum hosted by the University of Chicago in April 2001.

In the wake of European *fin de siècle* decadence, aestheticism, and “sexual anarchy,” the Russian Symbolists offered a variety of new religious ideas and erotic practices as alternatives to the traditional ones. The 1890s inaugurated the Russian Religious Renaissance. The practice of heterosexual love was reconsidered in both religious and decadent terms. Platonic love for a soul twin, new versions of the romantic triangle, homoerotic love, narcissism, and romantic attachment for an unattainable, absent object comprised the new erotic practices. In his work *The Meaning of Love*, written between 1892 and 1894, Vladimir Solov’ev proposed a teleological program of fusing religion and love, where procreation was rejected, and androgyny reclaimed. Solov’ev postulated that the meaning of love lies in a hybrid synthesis of opposites, the feminine and the masculine, the spiritual and the material. He set out to recover the union of the spirit and the flesh in love, and to retrieve eros from its marginal position in Christianity. Premised on unconsummated eros and an antiprocreative basis, Solov’ev’s theory of love broached the idea of the androgynous “godman,” who conflating the spirit and the flesh, could be recreated only by mankind as a whole, and not by individuals.<sup>1</sup> Along these lines, I will examine the poetry of Zinaida Gippius in the context of early Russian Modernism and will focus on the poet’s peculiar lyric conflation of the spiritual and the erotic. Through close textual analysis, my paper situates Gippius’ poetry within the general Russian Modernist milieu and its preoccupation with religious and sexual matters.

Zinaida Gippius commenced her literary career in the early 1890s, at the time that “The Meaning of Love” was written. Following Solov’ev’s vision of utopian androgyny, Gippius adopted the ideal of the ambiguous and celibate androgyne, reserving for herself a position of sexual intermediacy. She embraced a mode of cross-voicing in her poetry, assuming an in-between, indeterminate gender status, displayed in her use of a masculine lyric persona. My paper explores the connection between gender, grammar, and figuration in Gippius’ early lyrics. It is my goal to trace the rhetorical nexus between religious and erotic desire informed by a common lack or lapse. Faith and eros become intertwined in the perpetual process of lyric desiring and reaching out for that which cannot be

attained. I contend that the lyric speaker’s androgynous status is enacted through the rhetoric of desire and the poetics of lack that underlie both religious and erotic longing.

Herself an androgynous figure, Gippius advocated equality between the sexes in what she considered the two most important elements of life—spirituality and sexuality. Her desire for such equality manifested itself in her personal relationships and social activities as well as in her writings. She wrote in her intimate diary:

I do not desire exclusive femininity, just as I do not desire exclusive masculinity. Each time someone is insulted and dissatisfied within me: with women my femininity is active, with men—my masculinity. In my thoughts, my desires, in my spirit—I am more a man; in my body—I am more a woman. Yet they are so fused together I know nothing.<sup>2</sup>

Gippius embraced a mode of cross-voicing in her poetry and a style of cross-dressing in her public life. While her public persona resembled the figure of the decadent androgyne, her poetry focused on spiritual androgyny and the anticipated transfiguration of life. Her reputed gender indeterminacy (rumor had it that Gippius was a hermaphrodite and her contemporaries, Andrey Bely, Nikolay Berdyayev, and Sergey Makovsky hinted at her androgynous nature) in fact found expression in a peculiar poetic amalgam of faith and eros, which unlike Solov’ev’s conflation of the flesh and the spirit, functioned on a very private level of intimate “conversation” and “negotiation” with God. While Solov’ev’s was a clearly teleological model, Gippius persistently and stubbornly evaded the *telos* of both her religious and erotic anxieties.

Olga Matich has argued that “movement toward the fulfillment of her [Gippius’] need for faith constitutes the poet’s religiosity, rather than the final and definite attainment of the goal itself. In some cases the movement is presented very concretely.”<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Matich contends that Gippius places an emphasis on the process of desiring faith, that “the inability to desire results in the state of nothingness.”<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the attainment of the poet’s goal would amount to motionlessness, the attribute of death. Gippius is continuously striving for ultimate

spiritual fulfillment but at the same time fearing it because such realization would mean death. Matich endorses Gippius' need for a dynamic faith which has its basis in a logical paradox: "lasting attainment is unfulfilling because it means spiritual death. At the same time nonattainment causes the poet to doubt the divine often leading her to great despair."<sup>5</sup> Thus Gippius' faith constitutes itself in the process of dynamic poetic desiring, which requires the presence of an impossible goal or an absent object of desire.

Anne Carson has argued that two opposing drives, actions, or values traditionally converge within erotic desire. She depicts a Lacanian anomaly where "all human desire is poised on an axis of paradox, absence and presence, its poles, love and hate its motive energies."<sup>6</sup> Carson stresses the condition of being in-between, in a state of dilemma. She points to the Platonic concept of Eros, where the Greek word denotes lack, want, need, and desire for that which is missing and which is oftentimes impossible to obtain or is out of reach: "The lover wants that which he does not have. It is by definition impossible for him to have what he wants if, as soon as it is had, it is no longer wanting."<sup>7</sup> Carson associates eros with a lack, which frequently becomes evident through the rhetorical trope of apostrophe and transpires through constant evocation of the missing beloved, through his/her imagined presence, the only condition for which is his/her actual absence. The process of always desiring the beloved, of forever reaching out to him/her but never quite touching, neatly underlies the functioning of erotic poetry. Thus poetry centers around a concern to portray Eros as "deferred, defied, obstructed, hungry, organized around a radiant absence—to represent Eros as lack."<sup>8</sup> To sum up, Carson reiterates Matich's contention about the process of achieving taking precedence over the fulfillment itself, but locates this process within an erotic context. "Desire moves," she writes, "Eros is a verb."<sup>9</sup> Thus a correlation between faith and eros may be established.

Gippius's preoccupation with issues of religious faith and spirituality came to the fore at the turn of the century when she and her husband Dmitry Merezhkovsky initiated the Religious-Philosophical Meetings. The two of them sought to affirm the equality of the spirit and the flesh, to corporealize the spirit and spiritualize the flesh, thereby figuratively uniting the two. Their neo-Christian philosophy believed in the future merging of the heavenly and the earthly realms into one harmonious entity. Gippius' early works reveal a less teleological model which relies on the principle of non-merging, but they articulate a latent craving for the ultimate union of flesh and spirit, religious faith and sexual desire. The early poetry of Zinaida Gippius



neatly fits into the model of the lover's always and infinitely desiring what is lacking. Olga Matich has described Gippius' erotic principle of separation and "non-merging" whereby the poet always strives for but never fully achieves a union with the beloved. This element of absence and separation stems from the poet's fear of attainment and realization.<sup>10</sup> That is why in her *Literurnyi Dnevnik* Gippius postulates a state of *vlyublennost'*, a perpetual process of being in love.<sup>11</sup> Faith and eros become intertwined in the perpetual movement and process of desiring. Love in Gippius' poetry is always splintered, because it is directed towards that which is missing and divided. Thus love is predicated on an absence, while faith feeds on the

longing to fill this absence. Gippius' early poems such as "Pesnya" (Song) and "Bessilie" (Impotence) (1893), "Snezhye Khlopya" (Snowflake) and "Posvyashchenie" (Devotion) (1894) construct a symbolic and paradoxical discourse between presence and absence, addresser and addressee, apostrophe and dialogue, where the speaker prays for that which is impossible to attain. This discourse is both religious and erotic.

Indeed, Gippius' verses take the meaning of private prayers and thus immediately acquire a religious dimension. In the introduction to her first collection of lyric poetry, *Sobranie Stihov 1889–1903*, she equates poetry with prayer, man's profoundly personal act of praying with the poet's innermost and highly subjective process of composing verse.<sup>12</sup> Gippius identifies her poems with prayers and thus designates the underlying religious motif in all of her early lyrics:

Poeziya voobshche, stikhoslozhenie v chasnosti,  
slovesnaya muzyka – eto lish' odna iz form,  
kotoruyu prinimaet v nashei dushe molitva...I vot  
my sovremennye stikhopisateli, pokornye  
vechnomu zakonu chelovecheskoi prirody,  
molimsya – v stikhakh.<sup>13</sup>

Traditionally prayer (faith), like desire (eros), implies a lack, an absence, something missing that is being addressed, requested, or anticipated. Gippius' early texts, in their dual capacity of prayers and verses, are grounded in a lacking object, whose presence is always invoked and whose resolution perennially deferred. For instance, "Pesnya" (Song), her earliest poem as well as the opening poem of her first collection, poses the poetic dilemma or rather inability to decide between opposing but equally potent states of being. The poem voices a spiritual need that is unsatisfied, a religious longing that remains unanswered, a desire grounded on a spiritual and physical void. In this sense, the poem exhibits what Carson has

defined as the essence of erotic lyric poetry and links religious faith with eros. "Pesnya" posits an ambivalent, divided, polarized state of non-gendered being, aiming to fill up a spiritual and sexual lack but at the same time relying on the very failure of fulfillment. Although in her later poetry Gippius employs a variety of means such as past tense verb forms, participial forms, pronominal forms, and adjectival forms to express a masculine speaker, "Pesnya" does not disclose its speaker's gender in any way. Antonina Gove has calculated that more than half of Gippius' poems employ a gender inspecific speaker.<sup>14</sup> Since the poem in question belongs to this category of non-gendered lyric persona, for the sake of brevity I will refer to its speaker in the feminine.

The lyric speaker of "Pesnya" constitutes herself as a non-gendered subjectivity in a process of desiring and reaching out to "that which is not in this world," simultaneously making it present through figuration and casting it as absent through the text's dialogic nature. In this sense, Gippius' poetic persona craves for its alter ego, the image of the beloved, summoned by the desiring lover. This always desired beloved is no other than God, who is seen as the object of a mystical-erotic relationship and positioned in the role of the lover. Therefore, Gippius' poetry merges faith and erotic longing, the act of praying with the act of addressing the beloved, and captures the lyric persona in a circular, repetitive process of religious desiring and erotic longing. In short, Eros predicates prayer and desire, faith and love.

Zinaida Gippius has been classified with the second generation Symbolists, who in contrast to the decadents, associated their art with religion rather than pure aestheticism. They wished to find meaning outside of themselves by *reaching out* to God in their poetry. It was the act of *reaching out* towards what they called "the other reality," the attempt to penetrate what V. Ivanov called the *realiora* of the other world, that which characterizes the Symbolist "visionaries."<sup>15</sup> This classification immediately registers the conjunction between Gippius' erotic lyrics and religious aspirations for the "realiora of the other world" and verbalizes their common ground: the act of reaching out but never reaching. This process coalesces erotic with religious, integrates eros with the longing for a new state of being, whereby God occupies the position of the desired but forever deferred lover. The poem "Pesnya" lays out the spiritual quest of the lyric persona for a missing, inaccessible "other." The text posits a desiring speaker locked in a continuous act of calling out, longing, crying, and lamenting the unattainable. The poem's speaker vocalizes the erotic principle of incompleteness whereby it is by definition impossible for her to have what she wants since, as soon as it is had, it is no longer wanting. Hence the controversy and paradox informing Gippius' lyrics.

Written in 1893, "Pesnya" infuriated the critics with its strange form, defiant of the canons of Russian versification. The complex metrical structure of this six stanza poem puzzles the ear with its heterodox but original use of

both traditional meters and irregular (*dol'niki*). Indeed, "Pesnya" befuddles at first sight.

*Okno moe vysoko nad zemleyu,  
Vysoko nad zemleyu.  
Ya vizhu tol'ko nebo s vecherneyu zareyu, –  
S vecherneyu zareyu.*

*I nebo kakhetsya pustym i blednym,  
Takim pustym i blednym...  
Ono ne szhalitsya nad serdtse bednym,  
Nad moim serdtsem bednym.*

*Uvy, v pechali bezumnoi ya umirayu,  
Ya umirayu,  
Stremlyus' k tomu, chego ya ne znayu,  
Ne znayu...*

*I eto zhelanie ne znayu otkuda,  
Prishlo otkuda,  
No serdtse hochet i prosit chuda,  
Chuda!*

*O, pust' budet to, chego ne byvaet,  
Nikogda ne byvaet:  
Mne blednoe nebo chudes obeshchaet,  
Ono obeshchaet,  
  
No plachu bez slez o nevernom obete,  
O nevernom obete...  
Mne nuzhno to, chego net na svete,  
Chego net na svete.*

### Song

My window is high above the earth,  
High above the earth,  
I see only the sky with the evening glow, –  
With the evening glow.

And the sky seems bare and pallid,  
So bare and pallid...  
It will take no pity on this poor heart,  
On my poor heart.

Alas, in sorrow insane I am dying,  
I am dying,  
I am striving for, what I don't know,  
I don't know...

And this desire I don't know from where,  
Came from where,  
But the heart asks for and wills a miracle,  
A miracle!

And let that happen which is not,  
Never is:  
The pallid sky promises miracles,  
It promises,

But I cry without tears of the deceitful vow,  
Of the deceitful vow...  
I need that which is not in this world,  
Which is not in this world.

Comprised of six quatrains, alternating between long odd lines and short even ones, the poem oscillates between two meters. It does not conform to the Russian syllabotonic tradition but rather contrives an amalgam of meters. The six stanzas feature anything from an iambic monometer to a seven-foot line with the exception of a tetrameter. Iambic tetrameter has dominated Russian poetry and Gippius' deviation from this metrical form already renders the text problematic. The lines vary in an irregular pattern of feet per line, ranging from hexameter to dimeter, and from pentameter to monometer within the same stanza. This extended scope of the meter within the same stanza is an infrequent occurrence in Russian poetry.<sup>16</sup> The middle two stanzas feature identical meter variations and may thus be defined as written in a mixed meter, i.e. exemplifying a singular type of line (iamb) with lines that vary in a particular pattern. As to the rest of the quatrains, they vacillate, forming a variable meter. Therefore, the poem as a whole is written in a mixed iambic meter which, however, does not constitute a uniform pattern of variation but rather combines two types of length vacillation (a mixed and a variable meter). This fluidity, slipperiness, or oscillation of the meter suggests an equally fluid speaker, who alternates between two modes of meter, discourse, and line length. The variable meter form avoids the regularity of a single meter, but through length variations achieves the rhythm of ordinary speech as well as a light conversational tone. Finally, the variation of line lengths situates the text in an ambivalent, transitory, in-between, bridging position, not unlike Gippius' own ambiguous sexual orientation and gender.

The poem is comprised of two overarching line patterns that form two distinct layers of discourse within the text. In the first place, the odd lines form a steady, non-oscillating pattern of alternating pentameter and hexameters, as if belonging to one speaker with a longer mode of expression (one pattern of speech). The even lines constitute another discourse of short lines, which can be identified as a second pattern of speech belonging to a different speaker. Therefore, there are two alternating speakers/patterns of speech, which suggests an ongoing dialogue, instead of the putative first person monologue. The form of this poem resembles a dialogue between the lyric speaker and an imagined addressee. Obviously the repetitions featured in the short, odd stanzas create an echoing effect—thus a dialogue between the lyric persona and herself may also be the case. At any rate, the dialogic nature of this poem calls for further investigation.

The first layer of discourse, consisting of the long, odd lines introduces an image or process that merely gets reiterated in the second layer of discourse. In a sense, one speaker is active, creative, goal-oriented, while the other is

passive, receptive, reproductive. Consider for instance a dialogic exchange between lines such as:

*Uvy, v pechali bezumnoi ya umirayu, / Ya umirayu,  
Stremlyus' k tomu, chego ya ne znayu, / Ne  
znayu... (lines 9–12)*

Whereas the odd line initiates the dialogue and realizes the verb action, the second simply repeats or echoes what has already been articulated in the first. By means of repetition and monotony the second line also embodies, reinforces, or modifies the statement of the first as in "*O, pust' budet to, chego ne byvaet, / Nikogda ne byvaet*" (lines 17–18). In this case the odd line expresses a wish for that which is not, a desire for the unattainable, then the odd line picks up that idea, reiterates it but elaborates on it and intensifies it by adding the adverb "*nikogda*" (never). In short, the odd line originates and develops an idea, state of being, or process, whereas the even line reproduces it and in some cases intensifies its effect. This twofold movement from odd to even line symbolizes a dialogic exchange, composed of a masculine (active, creative, goal-oriented) aspect, and a feminine (passive, receptive, reproductive) one. "*Pesnya*" juxtaposes masculine with feminine in a hybrid, androgynous discourse.

Indeed, Gippius engaged in a so-to-speak Symbolist theater of the body in which she performed both a male and a female character. Jennifer Presto has suggested that the poet engaged in a conscious histrionic performance of gender indeterminacy to paradoxically hide her identity by making a spectacle of her body and thus deflecting attention from her sexuality.<sup>17</sup> As a member of Russia's intellectual elite, she posed as both a femme fatale, clad in elaborate feminine costumes, and as a dandy, androgynous, narrow-hipped, and flat-chested. Presto contends that Gippius' gender performance served to instigate critical speculation about her body during her lifetime and that the poet took great pains to ensure authorial control over this ambiguous text of the self even after her death.<sup>18</sup> In other words, it was a carefully constructed image of gender indeterminacy that Gippius flaunted to call attention to herself. "*Pesnya*" exemplifies the poet's conscious public conflation of the masculine with the feminine. Gippius' husband, Dmitry Merezhkovsky, demonstrated similarly confusing sexual preferences. He was reputedly attracted to women, but not to his wife. Vladimir Zlobin, the couple's long-time friend and secretary in Paris, has described the couple's relationship as reversing the traditional gender roles. He claimed that Gippius provided her husband with the ideas which he later developed and presented as his own. Thus in the philosophically creative sense, Gippius played the male role. She was the fecundator, the seed, while he nurtured and gave birth to the given concept. Merezhkovsky had no creative ideas of his own but was extremely productive once given the stimulus.<sup>19</sup>

"*Pesnya*" plays out precisely this distribution of female and male roles, where the odd line "plants the seed"

and the even line “reaps” it. And to sustain the inversion of gender roles, Gippius, who took interest in numerology, masterminds the traditional meaning of even and odd numbers. While the odd number is associated with the male origin, the even implies the female element.<sup>20</sup>

Gippius constructs her poem so that the odd, “male” line in fact performs the poet’s own function of a “fecundator,” and the even line, the one corresponding to Merezhkovsky’s, as the one giving birth. Therefore, Gippius’ lyric speaker, like Gippius herself, emerges as an androgynous hybrid in a queer (in both the traditional and modern sense) dialogue.

Gippius’ poem features a non-gendered lyric speaker, divided between two possible sexes, but hesitant to adopt either, and ultimately seeking the union of the two in a spiritual not physical sense: “*Mne nuzhno to, chego net na svete*” (line 23). The “Ya” (I) in the poem does not reveal its sex, partly because the speaker utilizes exclusively the present verb tense. Nevertheless, the poem abounds with neuter nouns such as *okno* (window), *serdtse* (heart), *nebo* (sky), *zhelanie* (desire), *chudo* (miracle). The speaker thus gets subsumed in this prevalent neuterness, defying a straight-forward manifestation of his/her sex. In addition to the dominant neuter nouns, the poem includes three feminine nouns *zemlya* (earth), *zarya* (sunset), and *pechal'* (sorrow). The only masculine nouns *obet* (vow) and *svet* (world) eventually crop up in the sixth stanza (lines 21–24) but are located in the negative semantic field of *nevernom obete* (deceitful world) and *net na svete* (not in this world). The speaker functions in the midst of neuter and feminine nouns, and finally introduces the two masculine nouns only to chastise and denounce them as lacking, treacherous, deceitful. The connotations of *obet* further empower the semantics of negation and incompleteness. The word *obet*, meaning “vow, a formal promise” invokes the Biblical *obetovannaya zemlya* (the Promised Land), which in Gippius’ terms is *nevernaya* (deceitful), forever promised, desired but always deferred. Thus even in its feminine association *obet* fails to bring to fruition the poet’s wish for that which is not in this world.

The poem situates the “I” in the process of desiring something that is out of this world, in the act of reaching out to touch it. The present verb tense used throughout sustains this process. In the first stanza the lyric “I” hangs suspended in a locus high above (*Okno moe vysoko nad zemleyu*), between what is below and what is above, gazing upwards at the evening sky (*Ya vizhu to'ko nebo s vecherneyu zareyu*). This intermediate spatial position connotes the indeterminate sex of the speaker who occupies it. The lyric

speaker engages in observing, but the scope of her vision is delimited by both the window and her inability to penetrate the sky. The adverb *tol'ko* (only) signals the speaker’s confinement or imprisonment behind her window, together with her restricted view, as well as the emerging desire to *reach* beyond the visible. Furthermore, the first stanza sets up an insurmountable distance between the speaker and a desired state of being. The phrase *okno moe* (my window) suggests a physical proximity between the lyric subject and the window, but the subsequent adverb *vysoko* (high above) counteracts and erases this proximity by making the window distant in terms of height. The successive repetition of this phrase in line two emphasizes the distance. Hence, from its very outset the poem creates a tension between proximity and distance, locating the lyric speaker in a middle, in-between position.

On the other hand, the window constitutes a metaphor for the speaker and her vision or sight. “I” and “window” become equated in a relationship of metaphorical equivalence: I = window. This is how the poem resolves the tension between distance and proximity; the lyric “I” includes both the physical distance of the window high above and the physical proximity of *moe* (my). Moreover, in this way the “I” metaphorically adopts a neuter grammatical gender, that of the neuter *okno* (window). The imagery (sky, dusk) only enhances the distance/proximity effect by blurring boundaries and outlines. The first stanza presents an external though limited world (*tol'ko nebo, only the sky*) through an internal agent, the window, through which the androgynous speaker is looking. The stanza also conveys the lyric desire to bridge, to unite the two worlds. The adverb *tol'ko* (only) implies an unfulfilled desire, a craving for more than just a piece of sky. The first stanza fluctuates between proximity and distance, inside and outside by providing a delimited, confined glimpse of an outer infinite reality. The lyric speaker inhabits a space within a present and near reality, desiring to bridge the distance and achieve a higher state of consciousness. She is locked within a corporeal body but the body’s emerging neuterness to some extent counteracts its physical limitations and suggests the transformation or transfiguration of the flesh. Last but not least, this stanza alone contains two adverbs, which empower a sense of movement, of being in process.

In other words, through gender fluctuation, through desire for something inaccessible, as well as through the workings of the poem’s lexicon, the text posits a divided speaker engaged in an ongoing desire for future fulfillment. “*Pesnya*” functions in a genderless plane of discourse where the stable position of the speaker is put into question and undermined, so that the dynamic poetic



Gippius in masculine attire

desire and faith can keep unfolding and the speaker can keep reaching out towards that which is not: *O, pust' buet to, chego ne byvaet* (line 17). To quote Jonathan Culler, the exclamation “O” is but the eternal vocative “O” of apostrophe,<sup>21</sup> the act of direct address. On the other hand, this act of address is geared to represent a missing, impossible, unattainable goal: *to, chego ne byvaet*. The vocative “O” thus represents a peculiar form of reaching out to the absent object of desire and attempting to bring it to life by addressing it. Finally, the particle *pust'* (let) situates the desire in the future, in an anticipated time to come. The trope of apostrophe augments the dialogic effect for it presupposes an addressee, an interlocutor, who as it turns out is absent: *nikogda ne byvaet* (line 18). The form of the dialogue and the echoing effect discussed previously invoke the presence of something absent and impossible in a way other than tropologically, i.e. the merging of masculine and feminine, the attainment of the unattainable, the religious desire to reach the “other reality.” The dialogic and dual nature of the text and its speaker connect religious and erotic in a common active movement of wishing, of reaching out but never touching. Along these lines, Matich has written that all forms of love are associated with movement and dynamism, meaning that Gippius implicitly links faith with eros.<sup>22</sup>

The theme of absence and emptiness persists in the whole poem. Stanza two presents the sky as bare and pallid, an empty vessel devoid of substance, a container that has belied the speaker’s expectations. The window in fact overlooks emptiness: *I nebo kazhetysya pustym i blednym* (line 5). The window is thereby deprived of its function and, by logic of metaphorical correspondence and equivalence, the lyric speaker is emptied of herself as well. The phrase *serdtse bednym* denotes a poor, impoverished heart which can be read as a sign of the poet’s sorrow or as an expression of the metaphorical emptiness of her heart. The sky is personified through the trope of prosopopoeia—*Ono ne szhalitsya nad serdtse bednym* (line 7), but this attribution of human qualities even further distances the sky from the lyric persona (the sky is merciless). Therefore, the gap between the “I” and the sky has outgrown the distance suggested in the first stanza and the sky has transmogrified into something unattainable in the here and now. That is how the sky plays out the lyric “I’s” longing for the impossible. Stanza 3 further expounds on the lyric agony caused by the gaping distance between the “I” and the unattainable reality. The merciless ways of the sky have affected the speaker, and she is dying of sorrow and desire for something unknown and inaccessible. Stanza four introduces a completely extraneous element to alleviate the longing—the lyric “I” prays for a miracle: *No serdtse hochet i prosit chuda* (line 15). The miracle reveals the impossibility of attaining the lyric desire because the very idea of a miracle already presupposes a degree of rarity and impossibility. Finally, the fifth stanza again articulates the desire for that which does not exist and cannot be: *pust' buet to, chego ne byvaet* (line 16). The desire for a

miracle contains its own solution and its undoing, the lyric incantation verbalizes the formula of its own disintegration: *Mne blednoe nebo chudes obeshchaet / Ono obeshchaet* (lines 19–20). The paradox of this line is in tune with the whole pattern of desire and its inevitable frustration.

The last stanza confirms the deceitful promise, to express the impossibility of fulfilling the speaker’s desire: *No plachu bez slez o nevernom obete, / O nevernom obete...* (lines 21–22). Thus the promise, the oath of the sky comes through as fraudulent. Again, the need for that which cannot be found in this world, discloses the principle on which the whole poem works—paradoxically bringing together elements that otherwise exclude each other. And yet the speaker finds it impossible to bridge the gap in-between and remains on middle ground, rooted in emptiness and distance, but with a view of a transcendent reality or a transcendent beloved. The core of desire lies precisely there, in the middle position, in the state of being in-between, longing for something absent but never quite reaching it.

The same poetic state of mind finds expression in another early Gippius poem, one that in fact was written in the same year as “Pesnya” and one that introduces a masculine speaker for the first time in the poet’s work. The 1893 poem “Bessilie” (Impotence) articulates a similar tension between desire and completion, proximity and distance, life and death, but defines it as the poet’s inability or insufficiency to effectively convey its complex position. The whole poem presents the lyric persona torn between opposite emotions, desires, and goals. “Bessilie” reiterates poetic impotence in unequivocal terms, the masculine speaker being literally suspended between life and death, heaven and earth: *K zemle prikovanny, na beregu* (To the earth bound, on the shore). This middle position calls to mind “Pesnya” but brings the speaker closer to the desired state of being. The poem also puts God and the lyric persona into proximity, and describes the text as an unrealized, wordless prayer. Furthermore, it articulates what Gippius has defined as “vlyublennost’,” the continuous state of being in love and desiring but never reaching fulfillment, the always present element of separation and non-attainment. In addition to desiring a concrete object, such as a lover (Gippius had multiple “affairs” which remained unconsummated, a fact which instantiates her principle of desiring but not attaining, not merging), Gippius’ poetry expresses a strong passion and longing for union with God, whom she claims to love as much as she loves herself. “Bessilie” inaugurates the relationship of metaphysical proximity between a masculine “ya” (I) and “Bog” (God) as one constituted and mediated by love. Even the grammatical and structural parallelism of *Mne blizok Bog – no ne mogu molit’sya / Khochu lyubvi – i ne mogu lyubit’* (God is close to me – but I cannot pray / I want to love – and I cannot love) corroborates this link between God and Eros, a link grounded in the process of active desiring. In her 1894

work the relationship between love, God, and the unattainable is redefined in clearer terms. In “Snezhye Khlopya” Gippius overtly conjoins “love” with the “unattainable”: *Lyublyu nedostizhimoe, / Chego, byt' mozhet net* (I love the inaccessible, / That, which may not exist).

In her intimate diary Gippius wrote that “one must learn to love oneself like God. It does not matter whether one loves God or oneself.”<sup>23</sup> Apparently Gippius’ love for God exists simultaneously with her love for herself and the two coincide. God usually comes into being as the object of the desired yet always unattainable union. What links Gippius with God is Eros. The poet’s un/non-earthly beloved is God and the erotic relationship between Gippius and God transpires through the poet’s love for herself. She reserves for herself both an originating and mediating function as the lover and the beloved, the poet and the god. Thus the act of desiring and addressing the unattainable is also an autoerotic act of addressing and desiring herself. In her 1894 poem “Posvyashchenie” (Dedication) Gippius proclaims, “No lyublyu ya sebya kak Boga / Lyubov' moyu dushu spaset” (But I love myself like God / My love my soul will save).<sup>24</sup> When it came out this poem triggered a scandal in the Russian literary circles, and Gippius was accused of blasphemous narcissism and decadent self-deification. Indeed, for Gippius faith in God acquires an intimately autoerotic aspect; it is very personal and always based on the poet’s own erotic negotiation with God. Gippius’ early religious poems reveal her concern with the personal achievement of faith and its meaning, her innermost visions of love and desire. The external figure of God has been internalized by the poet, who views Him as the ultimate object of her love: *Ya – eto Ty, O Nevedomy / Ty v moem serdtse, Obizhenny* (I – this is you, O Unknown / You are in my heart, Offended). On the one hand Gippius draws an equation sign between herself and God, *Ya = Ty*, conflating her own flesh with the divine spirit, her erotic quest with God’s sexual indeterminacy. On the other hand, she addresses Him in a typically apostrophic structure “*O, Nevedomyi*,” thus maintaining the distance and preserving the differentiation between the two. Therefore, even in the sublime moment of union with God, Gippius fails to achieve full completion and fulfillment. She cannot attain what is unattainable because prayer and erotic desire are predicated on a lack and absence. “Posvyashchenie” comes to illustrate how religious faith, just like eros, exists in the space between lover and beloved, poet and God, and constitutes itself in the process of desiring and reaching out to the other.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> For a further discussion of Solov’ev’s theory of love, its foundations, and implications, see: Olga Matich, “The Symbolist Meaning of Love: Theory and Practice” in Irina Paperno, ed., *Creating Life: The Aesthetic Utopia of Russian Modernism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 24–50.

<sup>2</sup> Zinaida Gippius, “Contes d’amour” in Temira Pachmuss, ed. and transl., *Between Paris and St. Petersburg: Selected Diaries of Zinaida Gippius* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 73–74.

<sup>3</sup> Olga Matich, *Paradox in the Religious Poetry of Zinaida Gippius* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972), pp. 39–40.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 45–46.

<sup>6</sup> Anne Carson, *Eros the Bittersweet* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 10–11.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Matich, *Paradox*, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> Anton Krainy [Z. Gippius], “Vlyublennost” in *Literaturnyii Dnevnik* (Moskva: Agraf, 2000), pp. 139–154.

<sup>12</sup> Zinaida Gippius, *Stikhotvoreniya* (Sankt Peterburg: Gumanitarnoe Agentstvo Akademicheskii Prospect, 1999), pp. 71–74.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>14</sup> Antonina Filonov Gove, “Gender as a Poetic Feature in the Verse of Zinaida Gippius” in H. Birnbaum, ed., *American Contributions to the Eighth International Congress of Slavists. Volume 1. Linguistics and Poetics* (Columbus: Slavica Publishers, 1978), p. 381.

<sup>15</sup> Matich, *Paradox*, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Barry Scherr, *Russian Poetry: Meter, Rhythm, Rhyme* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 100–125.

<sup>17</sup> Jennifer Presto, “Reading Zinaida Gippius: Over Her Dead Body” in *Slavic and East European Journal* 43:4 (Winter 1999): 626–627.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 627.

<sup>19</sup> Vladimir Zlobin, “Z.N.Gippius. Ee Sud’ba” in *Novyi Zhurnal* 31 (1952): 149.

<sup>20</sup> J. K. Cooper, *Ilyustrovana Entsiklopedia na Traditsionnite Simvoli*, transl. Iglika Vassileva (Sofia: Peter Beron Press, 1993), p. 240.

<sup>21</sup> On apostrophe, see Jonathan Culler’s essay “Apostrophe” in Culler, Jonathan, *The Pursuit of Signs* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981).

<sup>22</sup> Matich, *Paradox*, p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> Gippius, “Contes d’amour,” p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> Gippius, *Stikhotvoreniya*, p. 76.

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# Library News

Four major items have been purchased for the UC Berkeley Library's **Slavic and East European Collections**:

**Biographical Archive of the Soviet Union**—a microfiche compilation from various sources of biographical information about leading figures in the Soviet Union; a companion set to the Russian Biographical Archive already owned by the Library.

**Hermitage Exhibition Catalog Collection**—a microfiche collection of exhibition catalogs, 1917–1970.

**Meyerhold Theater Collection**—a microfiche collection of rare materials from the Meyerhold archive.

**Rzeczpospolita**—the completion of the library's microfilm collection of the Polish newspaper.

For information on holdings in the Slavic and East European Collections, start with this Web page: <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Collections/Slavic/collect.html>. To search for a specific title or subject, consult the Library's electronic catalog, Gladis, through any campus library terminal or on the Web at <http://sunsite2.berkeley.edu:8000/>.

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# **Unruly Reform: Setting Boundaries on The Public Administration in Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic**

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At some point in the second half of the 1990s, the political rhetoric of post-Communist transformation shifted from “first generation” reforms like constitution-making and privatization to “second generation” issues like public administration reform. Though it may sound vague, public administration reform in fact addresses a quite concrete problem—how to define the relationship between the mid-level institutions of the state. It deals with the division of powers and tasks between subnational elected governments (at the local, regional, and district levels) and the branch offices of the central state ministries and agencies (also at the local, regional, and district levels). Together these elected governments and branch offices constitute the public administration, and the declared goal of public administration reform is to streamline this apparatus and increase its accountability. Of course, the fusion of party, state, and “elected” institutions during the Communist regime before 1989 makes the problem of effectively dividing power between these mid-level institutions especially pressing in the post-Communist context.<sup>1</sup> The aim of this essay is to scrutinize the politics of public administration reform in three countries that have tried it: Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. I will argue that in Poland and Slovakia, far from streamlining the public administration, these reforms expanded administrative structures and personnel without increasing their accountability. I will further argue that the reason for this failure was political in nature. In both Poland and Slovakia, party politics overwhelmed policy considerations so that parties captured reform and used it for their own ends.

Very often, government programs for public administration reform were worded in expansive terms, as projects to “remake the state.” One does not need to be cynical to appreciate that most policies to remake the state can be turned back on themselves to benefit party politicians instead.<sup>2</sup> The argument of this essay is that the fate of public administration reform depends primarily on the political position and composition of the governments that undertake it.

Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic illustrate this argument. In Slovakia, the government that undertook public administration reform in 1996 was dominated by a classic political machine style party, Vladimir Meciar’s

Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). Under Meciar’s government, public administration reform served the interests of the government party clique and damaged the interests of the opposition parties. In short, HZDS used reform to extract massive patronage from the state administration and was able to exclude opposition parties from that patronage.<sup>3</sup> The consequence for Slovakia’s public administration was a dramatic expansion in size.

In Poland, on the other hand, the government that undertook public administration reform was the product of a party system too fragmented and unstable to form strong governments and a stable opposition. This government needed to pay off so many parties within its own coalition—and even the opposition—that the final policy was a very diluted version of public administration reform. In fact, a pessimist would call it a crisis of public administration reform. The weakness of the Polish government meant that all parties were able to extract patronage from reform, and as in Slovakia, the result was a greatly expanded public administration.

In contrast to both Poland and Slovakia, the Czech Republic avoided the outcome of public administration reform leading to state expansion. The political position and composition of the Czech government that undertook public administration reform differed markedly from its counterparts in Poland and Slovakia. Unlike Poland, it was not an unwieldy coalition of many disparate interests whom government reformers needed to buy off for their support. Unlike Slovakia, it was not a dominant machine lording over a weak opposition. Instead, the Czech government consisted of a single party that was closely checked by a single, dominant opposition party. In the Czech case, then, party system competition produced responsible government.

## **The Political Background**

To appreciate the differences between the governments that undertook public administration reform in Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, it is necessary to fill in a little political background.

For most of the 1990s, the Slovak party system had consisted, on the one hand, of a dominant political machine in the government and, on the other hand, of an organizationally weak and internally divided coalition of outsider parties in the opposition. For all but a few months of the period from 1992 to 1998, the government party was the HZDS, which was founded in 1991 by Vladimir Meciar and which was popularly credited with winning Slovak independence in 1993. As a result of Meciar's nationalist credentials, HZDS had enjoyed great, though declining, popular support throughout the 1990s. Meciar is still at the helm, and HZDS remains the most popular and organized party in Slovak politics. For most of the 1990s, the opposition had been a hodgepodge of former Communists (SDL), Christian Democrats (KDH), Greens, ethnic Hungarians (SMK), and others (now grouped in the umbrella group SDK). As the Slovak political observer Miroslav Kusy notes, "The long-term dividing line in Slovakia leads neither between the left and the right, nor between the liberals and the conservatives, but, since Vladimir Meciar came to power, simply between the ruling coalition and the opposition."<sup>4</sup>

Whereas Slovakia's party system has been dominated by a machine party, Poland's party system has been characterized by a lot of small, organizationally unstable parties. In Poland, there is no one dominant party that behaves like a machine. On the contrary, this system has been crowded by small, short-lived parties, which have produced ten governments since 1990, most of them weak. Its parties are especially fragmented and unstable on the post-Solidarity "right wing," which is constantly coalescing into new party vehicles. This camp is divided along religious, nationalist, geographical, and sectoral lines. On two occasions, in 1993 and 2001, incumbent, post-Solidarity parties have failed even to gain enough votes to meet the minimum threshold for parliamentary representation after their term of government expired.

The Czech case presents a third type of party system development, one that looks considerably more settled than the Polish or Slovak cases. After the initial (and inevitable) disintegration of the anti-Communist umbrella movement Civic Forum (OF) in 1991, the features of the Czech political party system were set in more or less the form that they appear today. The entry of new parties has been negligible. Effectively, the party system consists of two major parties with established leaderships, the conservative Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Social Democrats (CSSD). Government has alternated between these two parties in the 1990s, each of which has developed centralized organization, programmatic identity, and a relatively stable electorate over this period. In terms of government formation and policy-making, the result is a system with strong governments and a strong opposition, which can check each other's record in office. Much more than the other two cases, the Czech system satisfies the conditions for responsible government.<sup>5</sup>

## Public Administration Reform in Practice

With the political background in place, the stage is set to compare the genesis, implementation, and political consequences of policies to reform the public administration in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

### Slovakia

Unfortunately for Slovakia's opposition parties, its version of public administration reform was inextricably linked to the patronage strategy of the dominant government party, Meciar's HZDS. In the year following its return to power after the opposition succeeded in toppling its government in 1994, the HZDS-led government decided to appropriate the opposition's program of public administration reform.<sup>6</sup> Rather than understanding this program in terms of decentralizing power to regions (*kraje*) with elected parliaments, as the opposition had, the Meciar government decided instead to create new regional prefectures, which it would appoint directly. The government's plan also expanded the number of districts (*okresy*) in the country, which would function as administrative units below the regional level. These changes were strongly resisted by the opposition parties, but Meciar's government had a parliamentary majority and did not see the need to make concessions.

Thus, the political-electoral considerations of HZDS and its coalition partners took primary importance in implementing Slovakia's version of public administration reform. First, the government parties needlessly expanded the territorial administration in order to reward their members and supporters with appointments. This expan-

**Figure 1: A Map of the Slovak Public Administration Before and After Reform (1996)**



sion is depicted in Figure 1, which maps the boundaries of Slovakia's public administration before and after 1996. (Note: in Figures 1, 2, and 3, the darker boundary lines enclose regions and the lighter ones districts.) The reform created eight regional-level offices appointed by the government and expanded the number of district offices, also appointed by the government, from 38 to 79.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the policy added one new layer of state bureaucracy and doubled the extant bureaucracy at the district level.<sup>8</sup> Slovakia is a small country, and if the addition of eight regions was questionable, the addition of eight regions accompanied by a two-fold expansion of its districts was excessive. Together these additional levels of administration expanded the territorial administration by roughly 10,000 positions.<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no systematic documentation of the exact numbers involved, but it is common knowledge in Slovakia that the staffing opportunities created by the 1996 public administration reform provided the HZDS party and its partners in the government coalition with the opportunity to colonize the state bureaucracy. To quote a description of this period from a country report on Slovakia in a recently published volume on public administration reform in post-Communist Eastern Europe:

The current policy of recruiting personnel, not only for top posts in the new regional and district levels of administration, fits into a more general political and clientelistic style of holding power—what is more, it prefers candidates to hold similar views to those of the ruling parties.<sup>10</sup>

There is even evidence of the government parties' penetration of the state bureaucracy from those parties themselves. An internal party document of the HZDS entitled "The Main Tasks of HZDS" was leaked to the press in 1996. The document recommended that "HZDS should work to strengthen its position within Slovak society by continuing to reshuffle personnel within the state administration and diplomatic corps."<sup>11</sup> Finally, even the leaders of HZDS made statements confirming the party's attempt to recruit its supporters into the state bureaucracy:

Asked whether the HZDS knows that state administration employees are being approached and asked to join the parties of the government coalition in order to secure their remaining in the state administration, the HZDS deputy chairman [Marian Huska (HZDS), then the vice-chairman of parliament] replied: "Yes, the governing parties are expanding their membership base in this way, whether anyone likes it or not."<sup>12</sup>

The second way in which Slovakia's deconcentration policy under Meciar reflected the principle of political patronage was in the redrawing of district boundaries necessitated by the increase in their number. This redrawing was taken by the government parties as an opportunity for undisguised electoral gerrymandering. To quote again from the country report cited above:

Apart from strengthening the position of Meciar's party in state administration, in connection with the establishment of new regions and districts, the recently introduced division has some other partisan connections. The new territorial-administrative division of the Slovak Republic has significantly multiplied the number of districts in which the HZDS achieves electoral success, so that they now outnumber the districts in which support for HZDS is low. Under the previous administrative structure, this was not the case.<sup>13</sup>

The gerrymandering of district boundaries was especially pronounced in Slovakia's ethnic Hungarian areas, whose boundaries were redrawn to minimize the Hungarians' voting power. Ethnic Hungarian parties have formed the best organized and most stable political opposition to HZDS throughout the 1990s, and these areas were their strongholds.

In all, Slovakia's approach to public administration reform under Meciar fits neatly into the category of machine politics. These policies provide a classic case of institution-building in a machine-style party system. One party uses the project of state-building to increase its patronage resources and is able to exclude other parties from this state-derived patronage. The HZDS advertised its reform as "bringing the state to the people" More accurately, HZDS used reform to bring its people to the state.

### *Poland*

Poland provides an excellent example of public administration reform in a party system of the weak governance type. In contrast to Slovakia, decentralization was the chosen instrument of public administration reform in Poland. Poland's decentralization has failed, however, to define clear boundaries for the state bureaucracy vis-à-vis elected subnational governments. Rather, it has increased the size of the public administration as a whole while introducing new ambiguities and competitive dynamics between the state administration and elected officials. These results seem especially grim when one considers that, from the beginning decentralization has been pursued in the absence of general popular support, or even interest.<sup>14</sup>

The first thing to notice about the Polish version of public administration reform was a massive increase in the size of the public administration, in terms of both appointed and elected posts. The administrative boundaries before and after the reform are illustrated in Figure 2. Before 1998, the administrative map of the country had consisted of the central government, 49 governmental<sup>15</sup> regions, and elected local governments. After the reform, the administrative map contained the central government, 16 regions with separate governmental and elected administrations, and 373 elected district governments.<sup>16</sup> According to one estimate, in the commotion of reorgani-

zation roughly 40,000 non-elected administrative posts were either created or reassigned.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, the newly established district and regional governments amounted to 12,469 elected positions.<sup>18</sup> If these statistics suggest that the 1998 decentralization policy led to an inflation of administration, an examination of the process leading up to the policy—from the experts' first policy proposals to the final voting by the parliament—shows just how that inflation occurred.

The leitmotif running through this process was the following: a fragile coalition of government reformers attempts to buy off opposing parties, as well as potentially opposing parties, in order to win a parliamentary majority to enact reform while the political conditions are still favorable. In the case of Polish public administration reform, the list of parties bought off in this fashion included virtually the whole parliamentary spectrum. From the opposition, it included the post-Communist party (SLD) and the Peasants' Party (PSL). From the fractious government coalition, it included the Christian parties, the nationalist parties, the post-Solidarity trade union party, and more. In this political horse-trading, each party got a little piece of the spoils.

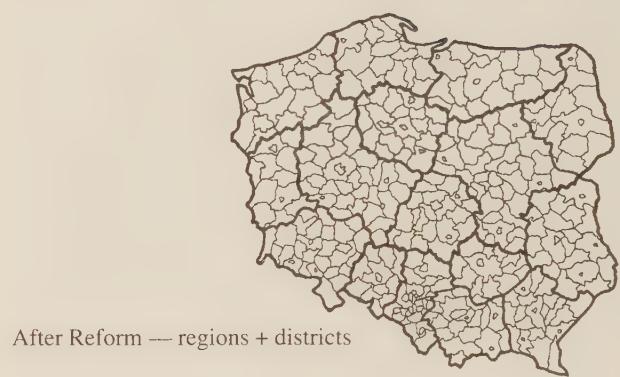
To appreciate the bidding war described above, it is helpful to review the stages of the public administration reform program, from proposal to parliamentary enactment. Consider first the question of the number of regions (*kraje*) to be established by the policy of decentralization. The community of policy experts, who had been working on this problem since the beginning of the 1990s, agreed that the ideal number of regions would be 12. The criteria urging this number of regions were the following: fitness for receiving outside funds (especially EU structural funds), economic self-sufficiency, diversified industrial profile, cohesive infrastructure, culture, the presence of an academic center, the presence of a hub city. The more politically popular alternative, however, was to set the number of regions in the range from 15 through 17. Despite lobbying within the coalition for more regions, the policy experts prevailed initially, and the government's proposal to the parliament placed the number of regions at 12.

Once this part of public administration reform passed from the technocratic arena to the political one, however, the inflation of units and personnel began—as well as the dilution of the policy's original intent. First, grass-roots protests appeared in those regional seats slated for abolition. Second, the opposition Peasant Party (PSL) and the post-Communist party (SLD) opposed the government's number, both because it encroached on their organizational advantages in the regions (especially in the case of the PSL) and because it was seen as a way of undercutting the government (especially in the case of the SLD). Finally, it soon became apparent that even within the government coalition there were many who preferred 15 to 17 regions; therefore, the government could not count on a majority within its party coalition.

Figure 2: A Map of the Polish Public Administration Before and After Reform (1998)



Before Reform — regions only



After Reform — regions + districts

The government reformers decided to make concessions to their opponents in order to get the reform passed quickly. First, they agreed that the reduction of the number of regions should not force those already employed in the regional administrations out of their jobs if their region was abolished. Such employees were offered the option of transferring to a new regional or county administration. For the most part, the most vociferous reaction to the government's 1998 decentralization proposal came from regional political elites, particularly from elites in those regions slated for amalgamation into one of the bigger regions on the administrative map. Instead of the 12 regions originally proposed, the government reformers settled for 16 regions in order to win parliamentary approval.

The expansion of administration at the regional level mirrored developments in the districts. One of the primary causes of public sector growth in the 1998 decentralization policy was the re-establishment of the sub-regional districts (*powiaty*). The district was a unit of government that had existed since before the first partition in 1795 and then later in the interwar Polish Republic. The Communists had abolished the districts in 1975, as part of a reorganization of the territorial administration. In the minds of the government technocrats designing the 1998 policy, regions were the most important element of decentralization. In the popular imagination, however, the districts were linked with the Polish nation's pre-Communist past. Some commentators suggest even that the

districts were seen as “small fatherlands” (*male ojczyzny*), though, given the weakly developed regional identities in Poland, it would be safer not to attach too much importance to this sentiment.<sup>19</sup> For the analysis of administrative inflation, it is only important to observe that the districts were ancillary to the intents of the technocrats designing the reform.

Once public administration reform crossed from the desks of the technocrats to the public arena of parliamentary debate, the districts became a major element of decentralization and the inflationary spiral began. Initially, the expert opinion prepared for the government by the Ministry of Finance proposed a total of 150 districts, which number, it argued, would yield economically viable districts capable of delivering public services with the optimum degree of efficiency. The government team came up with a formula to govern the drawing of district boundaries, according to which each district would comprise at least five municipalities (*gminy*), have at least 10,000 inhabitants in the district seat, and have an overall population of at least 50,000. Municipalities were then allowed to declare which district they would like to join. From the originally envisioned 150 districts, the parliamentary negotiation drove the number up to 373 districts in all. This final number included 71 counties that did not fulfill the government’s formula. The Finance Ministry team objected, drawing up a list of districts that should not be created because they would be unviable economically and administratively. If the Finance Ministry’s original plan for 150 is taken as a baseline, the political bargaining multiplied the number of districts by a factor of 2.5.

By now, however, political considerations were more important than technocratic ones. The government’s principle architect of the reform, Michal Kulesza, Plenipotentiary for Public Administration Reform, wanted to push through some form of decentralization as quickly as possible, before the political situation could change. The conviction that speed should be the paramount concern was the result of Kulesza’s personal experience. Under the first post-Solidarity governments of the early 1990s—especially under the last of these, the Suchocka government—Kulesza and other experts had largely worked out a plan for decentralization. When the post-Communist SLD-PSL coalition took over the government in 1993, it conspicuously ignored these plans, which then died a quick, mostly unnoticed, death. To avoid a repetition of this experience, Kulesza decided to make concessions with whatever group necessary in order to get their support in the parliamentary voting.

With whom were the concessions made? First, local politicians were eager to form small districts under their control, not only for the new offices and posts that would be so created but also because they believed the new districts would be the conduits of central government funds. From this perspective, a small district close to home controlled by politically like-minded people would mean more state resources without the need to share them

with neighbors not filling these criteria. This local lobbying was directed toward the respective national MP. The reform’s proponents also decided to accommodate disgruntled interests in cities that had served as regional seats in the former 49 regions. These cities wanted to preserve their status as gatekeepers between the provinces and the central government; moreover, they wanted to protect the administrative jobs that came with this status. To buy off this interest group, the reformers introduced an amendment conferring larger cities with district status—in addition to their status as municipalities.

Finally, there was another political pressure for the inflation of units of public administration that should be noted. Namely, the new, elected positions also provided a means to build party organizations at the subnational level. Until 1998, most Polish parties had very weak subnational organizations because of insufficient financial resources.<sup>20</sup> That the new district and regional councils would be salaried posts provided parties with resources to build up lower-level organizations—provided they could win elections, of course. Moreover, the extensive influence of outside groups, especially political parties, concerning the selection and promotion of administrative staff meant that the 1998 reorganization was a bonanza for political parties at all levels of government. The central government parties had a free hand to radically “reorganize” the governmental regional administrations, as they consolidated staff from the previous 49 offices to 16. In each of the new regional and district elected councils, the victorious party or party coalition was in a position to set up its own executive administration. As a result, the opportunities for patronage were bountiful, and they were enjoyed by all parties—or at least those parties that could win elections at any of the now four levels of government.

Thus far, I have emphasized the expansion of offices in my analysis of Poland’s policy of decentralization. In this sense, at least, decentralization in Poland has certainly not achieved the goal of reducing the size of the state, which was given as a goal of public administration reform not only in my definition above but also in the Polish government’s published policy program. The question of evaluating the reform is, of course, more complicated. The crucial analytical question is whether this expansion of offices furthered the other goals of public administration reform, namely, greater effectiveness and accountability and less wide-spread corruption. Early indications suggest that decentralization has not met these goals. Noting the difficulties of evaluating the 1998 decentralization policy so soon after its implementation, the noted Polish expert on public finance Zyta Gilowska made the following assessment:

The new units of territorial self-government [the regions and districts] are weak, and the central government has not gotten any stronger...It seems that the opinion as to the weakening of public power during this stage of the transformation is justified. The

real course of reform has been rather a process of chaotic scattering [of offices and tasks] than of the coherent decentralization.<sup>21</sup>

I quote Gilowska's assessment because it is blunt and succinct, but this analysis is echoed by numerous other Polish policy experts.<sup>22</sup>

Before moving on to consider the genesis and implementation of decentralization in the Czech Republic, it would helpful to review the case-study analysis thus far. In Slovakia, what began in the early 1990s as a call for decentralization by the soon-to-be-opposition parties was coopted and transformed into a policy of administrative centralization by the dominant political machine HZDS and its two junior coalition partners. Because of its dominant position in the party system, HZDS was able to expand the state bureaucracy considerably and to increase its own penetration of that bureaucracy—despite loud criticism from domestic rivals and international observers. In Poland, public administration reform also led to a dramatic expansion of the state apparatus without evident gains in effectiveness. In the Polish case, however, the dynamic of runaway state-building had a different political logic. It occurred because a fragile reform coalition in the government had to buy off a host of critical parties to get an ineffective reform. The patronage generated by the reform was not dominated by any one group of parties.

### *The Czech Republic*

By comparison, in the Czech Republic public administration reform has been an heated issue of party debate since 1993, but it has not led to the same state expansion as in Slovakia and Poland. This is because the main actors in the debate have been two strongly organized, programatically rooted, competing political parties, the Social Democrats (CSSD) led by Milos Zeman and the conservative Civic Democratic Party (ODS) led by Vaclav Klaus. The Social Democrats support decentralization, believing that regional governments can help lead economic development, whereas the ODS oppose regional governments as a form of creeping state interventionism. ODS leader Vaclav Klaus argued that decentralization would lead to the “atomization” of the state, that it would impede the reform of the economy, that the loss of control over regional budgets would lead to inflation. Thus, in the Czech Republic, public administration reform was a battleground between two deeply entrenched political rivals, each of which has the organizational strength to survive without being in the government. Neither party ever has enough of an upper hand to impose its own solution on the others, as in Slovakia. On the other hand, each can form strong enough governments that it need not scramble to buy off a host of other parties to enact its policies, as in Poland. To the observer, the politics of public administration reform in the Czech Republic often looks like perpetual gridlock, and the current enacted version of decentralization has all the half-steps of a political compromise. On paper the

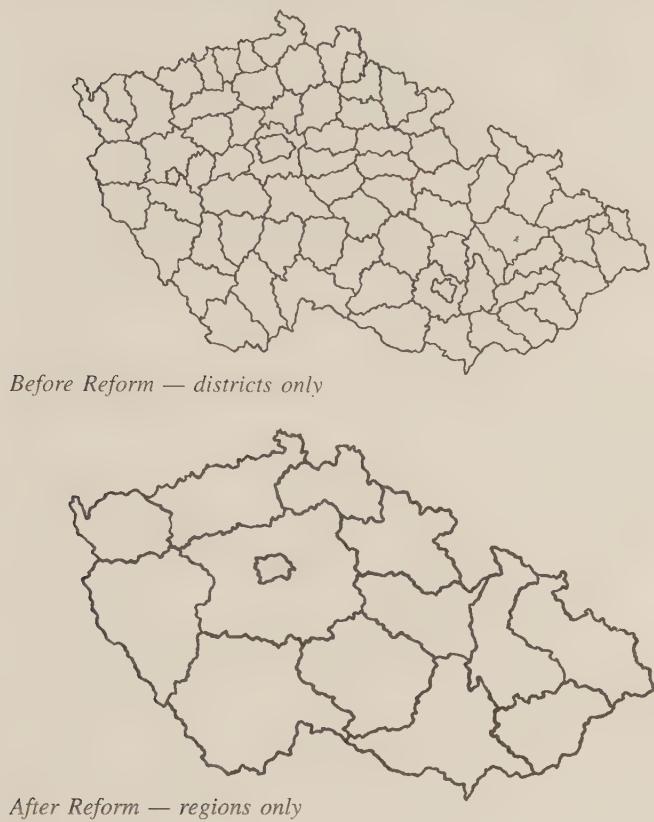
Czech reform is less radical than Poland's, but it is also much less expansionary.

As in Poland, public administration reform in the Czech Republic took the form of decentralizing power by creating elected regional governments. In December 1997, the Czech Republic undertook to decentralize its government. Though the constitution had mandated the creation of regional governments years prior to 1997, the conservative government of the ODS party had opposed this policy. When the Social Democrats came to power in 1998, they made decentralization one of their priorities. After considerable wrangling, the parliament came to a compromise that pleases neither the proponents nor the critics of decentralization, but which also avoids the pitfalls of politically fueled state expansion. As the map in Figure 3 shows, the policy established 14 regional parliaments in the Czech Republic, consisting of 685 elected positions and exercising as yet vaguely defined powers in education, culture, and regional policy. The public finance system remains quite centralized because ODS feared granting the regional governments too much discretion would invite expansionary fiscal policies. To address the conservatives' fears that decentralization would swell the size of the public administration, the decentralization policy will abolish 76 government-appointed, district administrations by 2002. It is still too early to evaluate the ultimate effectiveness of the Czech Republic's decentralization. One difference from the other two cases is striking, however. Namely, decentralization has not expanded the public administration. A comparison of the “before and after” maps for each of my cases (Figures 1, 2, and 3) shows that only in Czech instance did public administration reform simplify the administrative map rather than complicating it.

To appreciate the mutual checking and balancing in the Czech party system that prevented the cooptation of decentralization for patronage politics and, hence, runaway state-building, it is helpful to consider the legislative battle over decentralization during the 1990s. In 1993, the Office for Legislation and Public Administration made two proposals concerning the reform of the state administration, the first calling for 13 regions and the second for eight. Though the government coalition had agreed to approve legislation for setting up the new regions no later than 1994, the main government party, Klaus's ODS, scuttled these proposals, instead offering a counterproposal that it knew would be unacceptable to the other parties. Indeed, the proposal met with opposition in the parliament. A counter-proposal to create 9 regions by one of the other government parties came close to passing, but was blocked by ODS.

The situation began to change after the 1996 parliamentary elections, which saw greatly increased support for the Social Democratic Party (CSSD) and an erosion of ODS's position in parliament. Though ODS remained opposed to a policy of decentralization for public administration reform, its political position was no longer strong

**Figure 3: A Map of the Czech Public Administration Before and After Reform (1997/8)**



enough to carry the day. On December 3, 1997, the Social Democrats took the parliamentary initiative, which led to the passage of a constitutional act creating 14 new regions. ODS succeeded in keeping the regions weaker than the Social Democrats would have liked, but it was no longer able to block their creation. As I mentioned above, ODS was also able to exact the concession of eliminating the district level public administration.

## Conclusion

To recapitulate the differences between my cases, in both Slovakia and Poland public administration reform dramatically expanded the state rather than streamlining it. In both cases, political parties were the real beneficiaries of reform, but there was a marked difference in terms of how the spoils of reform were shared among parties. The benefits (read *patronage*) of Slovakia's version of public administration reform flowed chiefly to one party, the HZDS party that had executed it. In Poland, on the other hand, it seems that every party benefited in its own way from the reform process. No one party has wholly controlled the shape of public administration reform, and no one party has enjoyed all of its benefits. Only the Czech Republic managed to avoid a patronage-dominated reform of the public administration. I have argued that it did so

because the Czech party system allowed for the formation of strong governments and a credible opposition.

The comparison presented here suggests three lessons. First, the policies employed in the name of public administration reform have shown themselves too open to political cooptation. The success story of these three cases, the Czech Republic, is the case where a much more modest reform was undertaken because political compromise necessitated it. In the other two cases, the technocratic intentions of reform's authors disappeared in the political processes of enactment and implementation. Second, it does not seem that the bigger public administrations produced by the Polish and Slovak reforms are any more accountable than they were before reform. Indeed, it is very hard not to conclude that the colonization of Slovakia's public administration under the Meciar government did anything but reduce accountability. In Poland, it is too early to judge how accountability will be affected, but the early indications are that the administrative machinery is now more complicated and unwieldy than ever. Finally, these cases suggest that the processes of state development and democratization are often in tension. It is difficult for societies to handle the tasks of party-building and state-building simultaneously.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Of course, elections were empty formalities under the Communist regime. The electoral lists were picked by the Communist Party; thus, there was no real competition. The same was true of the state bureaucracy, the posts in which were filled after approval by the Communist Party.

<sup>2</sup> In political science, this process is often described in terms of political patronage. For example, Martin Shefter defines patronage as "a divisible benefit that politicians distribute to individual voters, campaign workers, or contributors in exchange for political support" (See *Political Parties and the State* (1994) Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, p. 283 n. 3). In the area of public administration reform, the currency of patronage is primarily public offices, both in the bureaucracy and in the elected (especially subnational) governments. For example, if a policy such as decentralization greatly expands the number of appointed positions in the subnational bureaucracy—positions that can be filled by political parties—without producing any gains in the effectiveness of administration, then logic of the policy is one of patronage, especially if this policy is undertaken without popular support or local initiative. In terms of elected public offices, the reader may well ask: how can elected posts be counted as a form of party patronage? Normally they would not, since the number of posts is stable, and they are subject to electoral competition. In the context of post-Soviet public administration reform, however, the number of elected posts is not usually stable. Often, it is expanding. In these circumstances, it is important which party sets the terms of the

expansion. If it can set the terms of the expansion in its favor, a party can strengthen its internal organization by winning more offices and the resources they bring.

<sup>3</sup> In fact, HZDS used public administration reform to further weaken the already divided and unstable opposition parties.

<sup>4</sup> Miroslav Kusy. (1998) "Slovakia '97." *Perspectives* 9, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> The term "responsible government" (or "responsible party") is a term that occurs in the comparative politics literature on parties. See, for example, Martin Shefter (1994). Essentially it refers to a system with strong governments and strong opposition and posits that such systems maximize accountability.

<sup>6</sup> After 1994, Meciar's HZDS governed with two junior coalition partners, the Slovak National Party (SNS) and the Slovak Workers' Party (ZRS). HZDS was the unquestioned leader of this coalition, though both the SNS and ZRS also benefited considerably from patronage resources as a result of being in the government. It was the opposition who were excluded from patronage.

<sup>7</sup> Lubomir Faltan and Vladimir Krivý. (1999) "Slovakia: Changes in Public Administration" in *Decentralization and Transition in the Visegrad: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia*, Emil Kirchner (ed.). New York: St. Martin's Press, p. 107.

<sup>8</sup> Under the Communist system of administration, there had been regional offices (*krajske urady*) in Slovakia (as well as in the Czech Republic). These offices had been abolished in both republics in the spring of 1990 under the Act on the Reconstruction of the National Committees (Faltan and Krivý 1999, p. 105). The Czechs did not follow the Slovaks in recreating them a few years later.

<sup>9</sup> Data requested from the Slovak Statistical Office's Infoservis. July 2001, Bratislava.

<sup>10</sup> Faltan and Krivý 1999, p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Vladimir Krivý. (1998) "Slovakia and its Regions" in *Slovakia 1996–1997: A Global Report on the State of Society*. Martin Butora and Thomas Skladony (eds.). Bratislava: Institut pre verejne otazky, p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Kevin Krause. (2000) *Accountability and Party Competition in Slovakia and the Czech Republic*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Government, University of Notre Dame, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> Faltan and Krivý 1999, p. 115.

<sup>14</sup> According to public opinion polls conducted in Poland from 1990 to 1998, in which the same questions were used to gauge popular support for decentralization over time, the percentage of the public who considered decentralizing the public administration an urgent priority never exceeded 9 percent. Moreover, the same polls showed that was never a time when a majority of respondents did not consider such reform something that should be postponed for later or that was unnecessary altogether (See M. Falkowska. (1999) "Spoleczenstwo wobec reform" [Society's Opinion of the Reforms] in *Druga fala polskich reform* [The Second Wave of Polish Reforms],

Ed. Lena Kolarska-Bobinska. Warsaw: Institut Spraw Publicznych, p. 282). Another poll, conducted a year after the implementation of public administration reform, showed that the general public's opinion of the reform's results was more critical than approving. In this poll, only 17 percent of Poles rated the reform as an improvement on the previous system (See *Rzeczpospolita*, January 25, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> I use the term governmental here to indicate that these administrative units were directly subordinate to the central government and headed by that government's appointed representatives.

<sup>16</sup> Sixty-five of the new districts were larger cities. Their status changed as a result of the reform because they took on the powers of district governments in addition to those of local governments. Otherwise, the pre-existing, elected local governments were left unchanged.

<sup>17</sup> See Danuta Zagrodzka. (2000) "Czterech jezdzców biurokracji" [The Four Riders of Bureaucracy: Interview with Professor Witold Kiezon]. *Gazeta Wyborcza*, October 28–29.

<sup>18</sup> *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland*. (1999) Warsaw: Central Statistical Office.

<sup>19</sup> See Bohdan Jalowiecki. (1999) "Ruchy regionalne czy bunt elit? Obserwacja protestow spolecznych" (Regional Movements or Revolt of the Elites? An Observation on the Social Protests] in *Decentralizacja terytorialnej organizacji kraju: zalozenia, przygotowania, ustawodawstwo* [The Decentralization of the Territorial Organization of the Country: Foundations, Preparation, Legislation]. Grzegorz Gorzelak (ed.). Centrum Analiz Spoleczno-Ekonomicznych: Warsaw.

<sup>20</sup> The exceptions to this rule were the post-Communist parties, the Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD) and the Peasants' Party (PSL), both of which had kept many of the organizational resources of their predecessors in the Communist regime.

<sup>21</sup> Zyta Gilowska. (2000) "Reforma samarzadowa a reforma finansow publicznych" [The Self-Government Reform and the Reform of the Public Finances] in *Cztery reformy: od koncepcji do realizacji* [The Four Reforms: From Conception to Realization], Lena Kolarska-Bobinska (ed.). Warsaw: Instytut Spraw Publicznych., p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> See the chapters by Janusz Sepiol, Jolanta Koral in *Cztery reformy: od koncepcji do realizacji* [The Four Reforms: From Conception to Realization], Lena Kolarska-Bobinska (ed.). Warsaw: Instytut Spraw Publicznych., 2000. See also Zagrodzka (2000).

# Outreach Programs

## Teaching about Afghanistan and Central Asia

Five former Soviet republics—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan—make up the region we refer to as Central Asia. To the north lies Russia, and immediately south lies Afghanistan, which shares a border with (from west to east) Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. Forming a geographic region of political and strategic importance, the Central Asian republics are now neighbors to the “War on Terrorism.” Never has the time been better to learn more about Afghanistan and Central Asia.

The following resources on the World Wide Web are ideal for teachers who address current events in their classrooms, but the general reader will find them useful as well. Teachers in particular should remember that Web publications do not endure the way traditional print publications do; to ensure access to lesson plans and key articles, consider printing or downloading them for future reference.

### Dispelling Myths about Islam

We have heard time and again that those who perpetrated the attacks on September 11th did so for their own political gains and that, regardless of their claims, such violence is not supported by Islam. The best way to dispel myths about Islam is to gain basic knowledge and then to isolate and examine common myths, such as the conflation of terrorism with Islam. Let us not forget that Islam is practiced in many parts of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The Council on Islamic Education produced an excellent teacher’s handbook, *Teaching About Islam and Muslims in the Public School Classroom* (Fountain Valley, CA: Council on Islamic Education, 1995), which can be ordered from its Web site, <http://www.cie.org/>. For quick reference, some basic information excerpted from this publication—entitled “About Islam”—is published directly on its Web site ([http://www.cie.org/About\\_Islam.html](http://www.cie.org/About_Islam.html)) and can also be downloaded as a PDF (<http://www.cie.org/AboutIslam.pdf>).

UC Berkeley’s Office of Resources for International and Area Studies (ORIAS) has a Web page on “Islam in Comparative Context: Online Resources” at <http://www.ias.berkeley.edu/orias/Islam.html>. The resources include a link to the Islamic Networks Group which offers guest speakers for the classroom. ORIAS is just one of the organizations listed in the article “Institutions Offering Resource Materials on Islam to Secondary Educations”

[*Social Education* 60: 2 (1996)] by the National Council for the Social Studies, posted on its Web site at <http://www.ncss.org/resources/moments/600209.html>.

To examine myths about Islam, try the lesson plan “Muslim: Fact and Stereotype” created by the Washington Post’s Newspapers in Education program. Go to the page at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/nielessonplans.nsf/bydate> and choose the link for the September 25, 2001 lesson plan. In addition to educating students about Islam, this PDF document shows how stereotypes can influence our perceptions.

### Learning about Afghanistan

To put the reports we are hearing into perspective, we need background information on Afghanistan. Consider starting with *Afghanistan: A Country Study*, published by the Library of Congress (Peter R. Blood, editor. Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1997.), available on line at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/aftoc.html>. To supplement that with more current information, see the US Department of State’s publication, *Background Note: Afghanistan*, updated in October 2001 (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/bgn/index.cfm?docid=5380>).

The New York Times’ Learning Network has produced a lesson plan, “Afghan I Stand: Learning and Teaching about the Culture and History of Afghanistan,” based on an October 3, 2001 article about child soldiers. Designed both for grades 6–8 and 9–12, it can be found at <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20011003wednesday.html>. Numerous lesson plans are listed on their “America Attacks” page, <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/specials/terrorism/index.html>.

Amnesty International’s Web page “Justice Not Revenge: 11 September Crisis” includes many reports and news releases, most listed under “Latest Information” (<http://web.amnesty.org/web/content.nsf/pages/gbrsep11crisis2>). ReliefWeb (<http://www.reliefweb.int/>), a project of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), has a page devoted to the current humanitarian conditions in Afghanistan and reports by other organizations, such as UNHCR and the World Food Programme.

Finally, PBS’s coverage of September 11th, entitled “America Responds,” includes a special section of

classroom resources (<http://www.pbs.org/americanresponds/educators.html>). Included is a lesson plan for grades 11–12 entitled “Afghanistan and Its Neighbors: Model Summit” and another for grades 9–12 entitled “Afghanistan Today: Civil War and Human Rights.”

### Learning About Central Asia

The Library of Congress Country Studies also include the following, issued in March 1996 (Glenn E. Curtis, editor): *Kazakhstan, A Country Study*, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/kztoc.html>

*Kyrgyzstan, A Country Study*, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/kgtoc.html>

*Tajikistan, A Country Study*, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/tjtoc.html>

*Turkmenistan, A Country Study*, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/tmtoc.html>

*Uzbekistan, A Country Study*, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/uztoc.html>

The US Department of State also has “Background Note” publications for each of the five Central Asian republics: “Background Note: Kazakhstan,” October 2001,

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/bgn/index.cfm?docid=5487>

“Background Note: Kyrgyzstan,” October 2001,

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/bgn/index.cfm?docid=5755>

“Background Note: Tajikistan,” October 2001,

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/bgn/index.cfm?docid=5775>

“Background Note: Turkmenistan,” January 2001,

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/bgn/index.cfm?docid=2866>

“Background Note: Uzbekistan,” May 2001,  
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/bgn/index.cfm?docid=2924>

The Asia Society’s AskAsia Web site contains a special section entitled “September 11 Attacks: Background and Aftermath” at [http://www.askasia.org/teachers/Instructional\\_Resources/FEATURES/AmericasCrisis/index.htm](http://www.askasia.org/teachers/Instructional_Resources/FEATURES/AmericasCrisis/index.htm). It provides a brief background and gives suggestions for teaching about Central Asia.

A concise update on Central Asia, “Central Asia Takes Center Stage” by Professor Cynthia Buckley, was recently published in the November/December 2001 newsletter of the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. It can be found in PDF format on their newsletter Web page, <http://reenic.utexas.edu/creees/newsletter.html>.

Finally, our resources on Central Asia—publications, bibliographies, links, and so on—are summarized on our September 11th Web page, <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/9-11page.html>.

### Getting the Latest Regional News

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), a long-standing source for news on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, now offers special coverage in its “War on Terror” section (<http://www.rferl.org/nca/special/9112001/>). Go to its main page, <http://www.rferl.org/>, for its complete regional news offerings.

## Annual Teacher Outreach Conference

### “Reconfiguring East and West in the Bush-Putin Era”

April 13–14, 2002 at UC Berkeley

Our Annual Teacher Outreach Conference, “Reconfiguring East and West in the Bush-Putin Era,” will be held on April 13–14, 2002 on the UC Berkeley campus.

The dramatic and unforeseen changes in American and Russian foreign policy in this post-Cold War era will be explored at the conference with reference to three key issues:

1. Multilateral organizations and treaties which are currently redefining the boundaries between “East” and “West” (e.g., the role of Russia in NATO, the abrogation of the ABM Treaty, admission of postcommunist countries into the EU and NATO, and the major reductions in strategic offensive arms announced by Bush and Putin in the Washington-Crawford summit).
2. New dimensions of relationships between the former communist countries of Eurasia and East Europe on the one hand and the United States and its Western European allies on the other (e.g., the role of Russia

as an increasingly critical player in the international oil market, the US military presence in Central Asia, the impact of changing concepts of East and West on Eastern Europe, and the effects of Russia’s economic recovery on its foreign policy and trade patterns)

3. The impact of the “War on Terror” on the war in Chechnya, Islamic fundamentalist movements in Central Asian republics, and extremist movements in other Soviet successor states

Registration will be required. Teachers on our mailing list will receive a flyer in February. To be added to our teacher mailing list, please contact Stella Bourgoin at (510) 642-9107 or [stellab@uclink4.berkeley.edu](mailto:stellab@uclink4.berkeley.edu). The schedule, registration form, and other materials will also be posted at <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~csees/outreach.html>

This conference is made possible by a Title VI grant from the US Department of Education to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies within ISEES.

# ORIAS Acquires Slavic and East European Materials

## Donation of Materials by Retiring Teacher

The Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies would like to acknowledge a generous donation of teaching materials from Beverly Edmonds. Dr. Edmonds, who holds a Ph.D. in history from UC Berkeley, recently retired from the Branson School in Ross, California where she taught government and history.

The collection of Soviet posters and other items are now housed on campus at the Office of Resources for International and Area Studies (ORIAS) where teachers can access them. The posters would be useful in a lesson on political and social propaganda—either Soviet or in general—or on the use of graphic design to render concepts visually.

And as for Dr. Edmonds, retirement won't slow her down; she is executive director of Peace and Human Rights in Education, Inc., an organization that promotes children's rights.

## CSEES Purchases Books

The Center for Slavic and East European Studies, with its Title VI funding from the US Department of Education's Title VI grant, purchased a number of books for ORIAS's collection during the past year.

Books on Russian children's literature that were introduced during the ORIAS Summer Institute in July 2001 are now available at ORIAS for use by teachers. These titles, many of which are out of print, include:

*The Absentminded Fellow* by Samuel Marshak.  
Translated by Richard Pevear. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1999.

*First, Second* by Daniil Kharms. Translated by Richard Pevear. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1996.

*The Story of a Boy Named Will, Who Went Sledding Down a Hill* by Daniil Kharms. Translated by Jamey Gambrell. New York: North-South Books, 1993.

*Telephone* by Kornei Chukovsky. Translated by Jamey Gambrell. New York: North-South Books, 1996.

A discussion of these books can be found in the Fall 2001 issue of this newsletter, available on our Web site at <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~csees/publications.html>. Teachers and librarians at the 2001 Summer Institute were also introduced to Russian folklore. To augment ORIAS's Russian folklore titles, CSEES purchased:

*Russian Lacquer, Legends, and Fairy Tales* by Lucy Maxym. Farmingdale, NY: Corners of the World, Inc., 1981.

*Russian Lacquer, Legends, and Fairy Tales*, Volume II, by Lucy Maxym. Farmingdale, NY: Corners of the World, Inc., 1986.

Russian lacquered boxes, beautifully photographed, are accompanied by a text of the folklore they depict. These are excellent reference books for teaching about Russian cultural traditions as well as inspiration for art projects in the classroom.



The Slavic Center also purchased these reference books on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union for ORIAS's collection:

*Atlas of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* by Richard Crampton. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.

*Culture and Customs of Russia* by Sydney Schultze. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000.

*Cultural Atlas of Russia and the Former Soviet Union* by R. R. Milner-Gulland. New York: Checkmark Books, 1998.

*Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the Fall of Communism* edited by Richard Frucht. New York: Garland Publishing, 2000.

ORIAS, dedicated to providing scholarly resources and supporting professional development for K-12 educators, maintains books and other materials in its office on the UC Berkeley campus. Michele Delattre, ORIAS Program Assistant, can be reached at (510) 643-0868 or [orias@uclink4.berkeley.edu](mailto:orias@uclink4.berkeley.edu).

# Faculty and Student News

**Bryon Bass**, ISEES research associate, received an IREX Short-Term Travel Grant for research during July and August in Croatia on his project “Bibliographic Research in Support of Systematic Archaeological Field Survey on the Island of Lastovo, Croatia.”

**Mike Boduszynski**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History, is spending the current academic year in Zagreb conducting research for his project this year on “The International Dimension of Democratization in Croatia,” funded by an Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX.

**Jeannine Davis-Kimball**, ISEES research associate and executive director of the Center for the Study of Eurasian Nomads, coauthored *The Silk Road and the Cities of the Golden Horde*, recently published by Zinat Press (Berkeley, CA: 2001).

**Scott Gehlbach**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented a paper on “Social Networks and Corruption” at the 10th International Anti-Corruption Conference held October 7–11, 2001 in Prague. Scott is spending the current academic year in Moscow on an Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX researching “New Democratic Institutions and Corruption in Post-Communist Countries.”

**Laura Henry**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented a paper on “Transnational Influences and the Russian Environmental Movement” at the American Sociological Association’s annual meeting in August 2001.

**John Holmes**, Ph.D. candidate in history, received funding for 2001–2002 from the American Councils for International Education’s Regional Scholar Exchange Program. He is conducting research at Russian State Humanities University in Moscow for his project, “The Life and Times of Noah London: American Jewish Communist, Soviet Engineer, and Victim of Stalinist Terror.”

**Ken Jowitt**, Robson Professor of Political Science, is currently the Pres and Maurine Hotchkis Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

**James Krapfl**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History, presented a paper on “The Rhetoric of the Velvet Revolution” at the conference entitled “Faith, Dope, and Charity: Purity and Danger in East European Politics and Culture,” held in November at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London.

**Christine Kulke**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History, presented a paper on “The Soviet Imprint on Jewish Life under Nazi Occupation: The Case of L’viv-Lwow-L’vov-Lemberg” at the annual conference of the Association for Jewish Studies in December 2001.

**Diahanna Lynch**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, is spending the current academic year at Cornell University.

Two new collections feature **Czeslaw Milosz**’s work: *New and Collected Poems, 1931–2001* (New York: Ecco Press, 2001) and *To Begin Where I Am: The Selected Prose of Czeslaw Milosz* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001).

**Harsha Ram** has been promoted to Associate Professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

**Shawn Salmon**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History, received a grant for 2001–2002 from the American Councils for International Education for research and language training. She is conducting her project entitled “Showcasing Soviet Socialism: A History of Intourist” at Russian State Humanities University in Moscow.

**Peter Schmelz**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Music, presented a paper on “Andrey Volkonsky, the Young Composers, and Twelve-Tone Music in the Soviet Union, 1956–1962” at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in November 2001.

**Allan Urbanic**, Slavic collections librarian, traveled to Eastern Europe in October 2001 to meet with exchange partners at libraries in Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

**Ilya Vinkovetsky**, Ph.D. candidate in history, delivered the paper “The Problems of Modernization and Globalization in the History of Russian Colonialism” at the US Library of Congress’s “Meeting of Frontiers” conference, held in May 2001.

**Alexander Vucinich**, professor emeritus of sociology and history of science at the University of Pennsylvania, received the Distinguished Contributions Award at the AAASS national convention in November 2001. Since his retirement, Professor Vucinich has been a longtime Berkeley resident who, along with his wife Dorothy, have been faithful supporters of ISEES. He recently published *Einstein and Soviet Ideology* (Stanford University Press, 2001).

# Berkeley Participants In the AAASS 2001 Convention

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies held its national convention on November 15–18, 2001 in Washington, D.C.

**Laura Adams** (Ph.D. in sociology, 1999) served as a discussant on the panel entitled “Cultural and Social Currents in Contemporary Central Asia.” Laura is currently a visiting assistant professor of sociology at Babson College.

**Polina Barskova**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, delivered a paper entitled “Filial Feelings and Paternal Patterns: Shakespeare in *The Gift*” at the panel on “Vladimir Nabokov’s *The Gift*.”

**Evgenii Bershtein** (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1998) served as a discussant on the panel on “Decadence and Degeneration in Russian Culture” and delivered a paper entitled “Evgenii Kharitonov: The Construction of a Literary Cult” at the panel on “The Work and Literary Reputation of Evgenii Kharitonov.” He is currently an assistant professor of Russian at Reed College.

**Zygmunt Ronald Bialkowski**, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented a paper entitled “Between the Childhood and Pathology: Murder and Vagrancy in Late Imperial Russia” at a panel on “Murder à la Russe: Life and Literature.”

**George W. Breslauer**, professor of political science and dean of social sciences, was a participant in the Ed Hewett Memorial Roundtable entitled “Russia in the Year 2001.”

**Chad Carl Bryant**, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented a paper entitled “Laughing at the Nazis; or How Czechness and the Czechs Survived Occupation, 1939–1945” at the panel on “Laughter through Tears: Humor and Survival in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe.”

**Keith Darden** (Ph.D. in political science, 2000) served as a discussant on the panel entitled “Ideas and Interpretation in Post-Communist Transition.” Keith is currently an assistant professor with the Department of Political Science at Yale University.

**Adrienne Lynn Edgar** (Ph.D. in history, 1999) chaired the panel on “The Categorical Imperative: Schemes for Classifying the Soviet Population.” Adrienne is currently an assistant professor in the Department of History at UC Santa Barbara.

**Alla Efimova**, assistant curator at the Berkeley Art Museum, chaired the panel entitled “Russian Neo-Modernism: Culture and Politics in the 1990s.” She also presented “Art Ground Zero: The Reinvention of Avant Garde Photography in Russia, 1970s–1990s” at the panel on “Repetitions: Avant-Garde and Neo-Avant-Garde.”

**Victoria Frede**, Ph.D. candidate in history, delivered a paper on “Russian Officialdom and the Nihilist Scare of the 1860s” at the panel on “Recontextualizing Russian Intellectual History.”

**Gregory Grossman**, professor emeritus of economics, was a participant in a panel entitled “Shadow Economy: Change and Continuity.”

**Joan Grossman**, professor emeritus of Slavic languages and literatures, presented “Bryusov from ‘Our Future’ to ‘Diktator’” at a panel entitled “Remaking Russia: The Utopian Visions of Gorky, Tolstoy, and Bryusov.”

**Marc Morjé Howard** (Ph.D. in political science, 1999) served as a discussant on the panel entitled “From the Street to the Voting Booth: The Role of Political Participation in Russia’s Democratization.” He is currently an assistant professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland.

**Lilya Kaganovsky** (Ph.D. in comparative literature, 2000) delivered a paper entitled “Preparing for Battle: Impenetrable Goalkeepers of the New Soviet State” at a panel on “Spectacle and Performance in Soviet Film of the 1920s and 1930s.” Lilya is currently an assistant professor in the Departments of Slavic Languages and Literatures and Comparative Literature at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Jeffrey Karlsen**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented a paper entitled “Circumscribing the Circus in Soviet Films of the 1920s and 1930s” at the panel on “Spectacle and Performance in Soviet Film of the 1920s and 1930s.”

**Oleg Kharkhordin** (Ph.D. in political science, 1996) presented “Self-Formation in Stalinist Russia: Confession or Penance?” at a panel entitled “The Self and the Collective in Stalinist Russia: From Shaming in the 1920s to the Defence of Intimacy.” Oleg is currently associate professor and chair of political science and sociology at European University in St. Petersburg.

**Konstantine Klioutchkine**, Slavic cataloguer at the UC Berkeley Library, delivered a paper entitled “A Russian Nietzsche in the Newspapers: The Career of Vasilii Rozanov” at a panel on “Recontextualizing Russian Intellectual History.”

**Olga Matich**, professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures presented “Alexander Blok: Degeneracy and the Blood Taint” at a panel on “Decadence and Degeneration in Russian Culture.” She also served as a discussant on the panel entitled “The Work and Literary Reputation of Evgenii Kharitonov.”

**Hugh McLean**, professor emeritus of Slavic languages and literatures, delivered a paper entitled “A Class of Utopias: Tolstoy and Gorky” at the panel on “Remaking Russia: The Utopian Visions of Gorky, Tolstoy, and Bryusov.”

**Eric Naiman**, associate professor of Slavic and comparative literature, delivered a paper on “*The Gift* as a Work of Queer Studies” at the panel on “Vladimir Nabokov’s *The Gift*.” He also chaired the panel on “Developments and Dilemmas of the Public Sphere in Late Imperial Russia.”

**Anne Nesbet**, assistant professor of Slavic languages and literatures, chaired the panel on “Russian-American Border Crossings.”

**Jan Plamper** (Ph.D. in history, 2001) presented a paper on “Painting Stalin, Playing Stalin: Aleksandr Gerasimov, Aleksei Dikii, and the Stalin Cult” at a panel entitled “Mechanisms of Cult Production in the 1930s and 1940s: New Archival Findings.” Jan is currently a researcher at the University of Giessen.

**Ethan M. Pollock** (Ph.D. in history, 2000) chaired the panel on “Local Memory and Identity: Soviet Intelligentsia and the Creation of a Usable Past.” Ethan is currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for History of Recent Science at George Washington University.

**Harsha Ram**, associate professor of Slavic languages and literatures, served as a discussant on the panel entitled “Eurasianism and National Bolshevism: Past, Present—and Future?”

**John Wyatt Randolph, Jr.** (Ph.D. in history, 1997) presented a paper entitled “The Family or the Circle? The Bakunins in Russian Social Thought” at the panel on “Recontextualizing Russian Intellectual History.” John is currently an assistant professor of history at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Miranda Beaven Remnek** (Ph.D. in history, 1999) served as a discussant on the panel entitled “Managing Slavic

Digital Projects: Reports from the Front Lines.” Miranda is currently with the Wilson Arts and Humanities Library at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.

**Ruth Rischin** (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures 1993) presented a paper on “Viacheslav Ivanov’s *Mladenchestvo* and the Poetry of Hayyim Nahman Bialik” at a panel on “The Legacy of Viacheslav Ivanov.” She is an independent scholar based in San Francisco.

**Valerie Sperling** (Ph.D. in political science, 1997) chaired the panel on “Globalization and Post-Communist Society and Social Policy” and presented a paper on “The Russian Committee of Soldiers’ Mothers and the State” at the panel on “Civil Society in Russia: Obstacles and Accomplishments.” Valerie is currently an assistant professor in the Department of Government and International Relations at Clark University.

**David Wolff** (Ph.D. in history, 1991) chaired the panel on “The Role of Technology in the Russo-Japanese War.”

**Alexei Yurchak**, assistant professor of anthropology, served as a discussant on the panel “Russian Neo-Modernism: Culture and Politics in the 1990s.”

**Reginald Ely Zelnik**, professor of history, participated in the panel “On the Centennial of Lenin’s ‘What Is To Be Done?’”

# Berkeley Participants in the AATSEEL Annual Meeting

The American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages held its annual meeting in New Orleans on December 27–30, 2001.

**Polina Barskova**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, delivered a paper entitled “‘The Devil Knows!’ or Forms of Space and the Chronotope in a Novel by Mixail Bulgakov” at the Mixail Bulgakov Society’s panel.

**Jeffrey Karlsen**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented “Journeys to the Land of Cinema: Americanism as Rite of Passage” at the panel entitled “Perspectives on Soviet Cinema of the 1920s.”

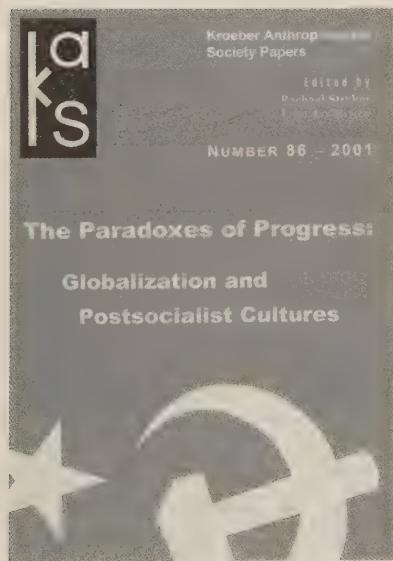
**Sonja Kerby**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented a paper entitled “Life Story, Narrative Voice, and Community in Nadezhda Durova’s ‘Igra sud’by’ and Evgenija Tur’s ‘Antonina’: Subversive Strategies in Women’s Prose Fiction under Nicholas I” at the panel on “Women, Writing, and Power.”

**Ingrid Kleespies**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented “‘East, West, Home is Best’: The Grand Tour in D. I. Fonvizin’s *Pis’ma iz Francii* and N. M. Karamzin’s *Pis’ma russkogo puteshestvennika*” at the panel on “Eighteenth-Century Russian Literature and Culture.”

**Eric Naiman**, associate professor of Slavic languages and literatures, presented “What If Nabokov Had Written *Dvojnik*: Reading Dostoevskij Preposterously” at the North American Dostoevskij Society’s panel.

**Jonathan Stone**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented “Exploring the Body Shameful: Solov’ev, Sologub, and Original Sin” at the panel on “Eroticism and Pornography in Russian Culture.”

## Recent Publication



A recently published volume is a result of the SOYUZ conference, “From the *Internationale* to the Transnational: Repositioning Post-Soviet Cultures,” held during February 2001 at UC Berkeley. Thirteen papers delivered at the conference were revised and expanded for publication in this volume, edited by

and East European Studies at Duke University. The volume, entitled *The Paradoxes of Progress: Globalization and Postsocialist Cultures*, was published in the Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers Series at UC Berkeley.

Copies of the volume can be ordered through KAS; consult its Web site at <http://www.qal.berkeley.edu/~kas/>. SOYUZ is an international organization that brings together anthropologists and other social scientists working in post-Socialist cultural studies. The February conference was sponsored by ISSEES, BPS, the Vice Chancellor of Research, the Dean of Social Sciences, the Dean of Arts and Humanities, and the Institute of International Studies at UC Berkeley.

Rachael Stryker, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at UC Berkeley, and Jennifer Patico, Center for Slavic, Eurasian,

# Ph.D.s Awarded in 2000–2001

The following people whose dissertations focused on Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union were awarded Ph.D.s last academic year. Congratulations!

**Gregory Alan Castillo** filed his dissertation entitled “Constructing the Cold War: Architecture, Urbanism, and the Cultural Division of Germany, 1945–1957” with the Department of Architecture in fall 2000.

**Keith Alexander Darden** filed his dissertation entitled “The Origins of Economic Interests: Economic Ideas and the Formation of Regional Institutions Among the Post-Soviet States” with the Department of Political Science in fall 2000.

**David Isao Hoffman** filed his dissertation on “Oil and State-Building in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan” with the Department of Political Science in fall 2000.

**Peter Janitzky** filed his dissertation on “The Wall Paintings of the Thirteenth Century in the Church of the Savior at Zica” with the Department of Art History in Spring 2001.

**Brian Evan Kassof** filed his dissertation entitled “The Knowledge Front: Politics, Ideology, and Economics in the Soviet Book” with the Department of History in fall 2000.

**Ellen R. Langer** filed her dissertation entitled “Individuality and Grammar: Instrumental Singular Variation in Nineteenth-Century Russian Literary Prose” with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in spring 2001.

**Barbara Lehmbruch** filed her dissertation on “Coping with Uncertainty: Institutional Transformation in the Russian Timber Industry, 1991–1998” with the Department of Political Science for spring 2001.

**Ann Elizabeth Mcdevitt Miller** filed her dissertation on “The Struggle to Create the New Man: The Literary Criticism and Career of Vladimir Friche” with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in fall 2000.

**Ethan M. Pollock** filed his dissertation on “The Politics of Knowledge: Party Ideology and Soviet Science, 1945–1953” with the Department of History in fall 2000.

**David Benjamin Shneer** filed his dissertation entitled “A Revolution in the Making: Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture” with the Department of History for spring 2001.

**Sara Ellen Shull** filed her dissertation entitled “The Experience of Space: The Privileged Role of Spatial Prefixation in Czech and Russian” with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in fall 2000.

**Jennifer Anne Sylvor** filed her dissertation entitled “Literary Impersonations: On the Development of National Prose Traditions in Russian and Yiddish” with the Department of Comparative Literature in fall 2000.

**Lucan Alan Way** filed his dissertation on “Bureaucracy by Default: Preserving a Public Dimension of the State in Post-Soviet Ukraine” with the Department of Political Science in spring 2001.

## Berkeley Language Center Oral Proficiency Interview Colloquium

An introduction to the Oral Proficiency Interview, including demonstrations of sample interviews in several languages, and a discussion of its merits and implications for the curriculum.

February 22–23, 2002  
370 Dwinelle Hall, UC Berkeley  
Free and open to the public

**Rescheduled  
From Fall 2001**

Sponsored by the College of Letters and Science and by Title VI provided by the US Department of Education under the National Education Act to the eight National Resource Centers at UC Berkeley.

For information, contact BLC at (510) 642-6767, ext. 10; [space@uclink4.berkeley.edu](mailto:space@uclink4.berkeley.edu); or <http://blc.berkeley.edu/>.

# Upcoming Events

Events are subject to change; for current information on ISEES-sponsored events, please call (510) 642-3230. When no one is available to take your call, you may listen to the recorded message that lists our upcoming events.

A more timely announcement of our events can be found in our Monthly Updates, published during the academic year. Updates are mailed to campus addresses and to Associates of the Slavic Center (see page 32) by first class mail. Additional copies are available at ISEES, 260 Stephens Hall.

**Tuesday, January 29, 2002.** *Public Lecture:* Levon Chookaszian, UNESCO Chair of Armenian Art History, Yerevan State University, Armenia, will speak on "Images of Secular Power in Armenian Medieval Art." With slides. In the Krouzian Room, Bancroft Library, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEES, CSEES, and CCAsP.

**Wednesday, January 30, 2002.** *Brown Bag Talk:* Yuri Blagov, associate professor at St. Petersburg School of Management, will speak on "Doing Business in Putin's

Russia." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEES.

**Tuesday, February 12, 2002.** *Film Screening: People, Years, Life* by Y. Gianikian and A. Ricci Lucchi (Italy, 1990, 77 min). This documentary on Armenia was created by re-editing archival footage. At the Pacific Film Archive, 2575 Bancroft Avenue, UC Berkeley, 7:30 p.m. Fees: \$7 general, \$4.50 seniors/disabled/under 12, \$4 UCB students. Contact: PFA, (510) 642-1412, <http://www.bampfa.berkeley.edu/pfa/>.

**Wednesday, February 13, 2002.** *Brown Bag Talk:* Oleg Bilyy, head of the research group on Philosophy of Culture, Institute of Philosophy, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, will speak on "Privatizing the State: the Origins of Corporatism in Post-Communist Ukraine." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEES.

**Tuesday, February 19, 2002.** *Film Screening: Prisoners of War* by Y. Gianikian and A. Ricci Lucchi (Italy, 1995, 67

*continued on next page*

IAS Teaching Program Course 180, section 2

## "The Setting of the Post 9-11 Conflict: Afghanistan and Its Neighbors"

will hold public lectures on **Wednesday\*** nights, 7-9 p.m. in 3 LeConte Hall.

This schedule is subject to change. Consult <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~isees/9-11events.html> for updates.

Wednesday, January 23, Lecture 1: Douglas Powell, Department of Geography. Topic: A Visual Introduction to the Physical Geography and Cultures of Afghanistan.

Wednesday, January 30, Lecture 2: Sanjyot Mehendale, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Caucasus and Central Asia Program. Topic: Early History and Cultural Influences.

Wednesday, February 6, Lecture 3: Wali Ahmadi, Department of Near Eastern Studies. Topic: Later History and Cultures.

Wednesday, February 13, Lecture 4: David Pinault, Department of Religious Studies, Santa Clara University. Topic: Shia Islam, Iran, and Afghanistan.

Wednesday, February 20, Lecture 5: Nigel Allan, Landscape and Architecture Program, Department of Environmental Design, UC Davis. Topic: The Cultural, Physical, and Ethnic Geography of Central Asia and Afghanistan.

Wednesday, February 27, Lecture 6: Barbara Metcalf, Department of History, UC Davis. Topic: Varieties of

Islam in the Region — General Overview.

Wednesday, March 6, Lecture 7 — To be announced.

\***Thursday, March 14, Lecture 8:** John Schoeberlein, Forum for Central Asian Studies, Harvard University. Topic: Central Asia and the "War on Terrorism."

Wednesday, March 20, Lecture 9 — To be announced.

Wednesday, April 3, Lecture 10 — To be announced.

Wednesday, April 10, Lecture 11: Thomas Metcalf, Department of History. Topic: Pakistan, India, and the Kashmir Conflict.

Wednesday, April 17, Lecture 12 — To be announced.

Wednesday, April 24, Lecture 13: Dru Gladney, Asian Studies, Center for Chinese Studies, University of Hawaii. Topic: China, Xinjiang, and the Role of Islam in the Uighur Nationalist Movement.

Wednesday, May 1, Lecture 14. *To be confirmed:* As'ad AbuKhalil, Department of Politics, California State University, Stanislaus. Topic: Political Islam in Global Context.

min). This film about prisoners of war during World War I was created from footage from Czarist Russia and from the Austro-Hungarian empire. At the Pacific Film Archive, 2575 Bancroft Avenue, UC Berkeley, 7:30 p.m. See 2/12 film for prices and contact information.

**Friday, February 22, 2002.** *Concert:* Kevin Kenner, pianist, will perform in honor of Chopin's birthday. At Old First Concerts, 1751 Sacramento Street at Van Ness, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$12 general, \$9 students/seniors. Tickets may be purchased at (415) 474-1608. Contact: San Francisco Chopin Council, ChopinSF@aol.com.

**Saturday, February 23, 2002.** *Performance:* Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir. At St. Ignatius Church, 650 Parker, San Francisco, 8:30 p.m. Fees: \$24/36. Contact: SF Performances, <http://www.performances.org/> or (415) 392-2545.

**February 24–25, 2002.** *Performance:* St. Petersburg Philharmonic. At Davies Symphony Hall, Sun. 7:30, Mon. 8 p.m. Fees: \$15–78; tickets may be purchased at the San Francisco Symphony Box Office, (415) 864-6000. Contact: SF Symphony, <http://www.sfsymphony.org/> or (415) 552-8000.

**Tuesday, February 26, 2002.** *Film Screening: Balkan Inventory* by Y. Gianikian and A. Ricci Lucchi (Italy, 2000, 62 min). This film was created from images shot by amateur photographers and German soldiers in the Balkans during 1920s to 1940s. At the Pacific Film Archive, 2575 Bancroft Avenue, UC Berkeley, 7:30 p.m. See 2/12 film for prices and contact information.

**Thursday, February 28, 2002.** *Peter N. Kujachich Annual Lecture:* Susan L. Woodward, professor, the Graduate Center, CUNY. A title will be announced. In the Heyns Room, Faculty Club, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEES.

**Saturday–Sunday, March 16–17, 2002.** *Annual CCAsP Conference:* "Currents, Cross-Currents, and Conflict: Transnationalism and Diaspora in Central Asia and the Caucasus." In the Geballe Room, 220 Stephens Hall; a schedule will be announced. Sponsored by ISEES, CCAsP, and the Department of Near Eastern Studies.

**Sunday, March 17, 2002.** *Recital:* Andras Schiff, Hungarian pianist. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$28–48; ask about student/UCB/senior discounts. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calpers.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Wednesday, March 20, 2002.** *Brown Bag Talk:* E. A. Hammel, professor emeritus, Departments of Anthropology and Demography, and Mirjana Stevanovic, research fellow, Archaeological Research Facility, will speak on "The Migration of Serbs and Albanians within and between

Inner Serbia and Kosovo." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEES and the Department of Demography.

**Saturday–Sunday, April 13–14, 2002.** *Annual Teacher Outreach Conference:* "Reconfiguring East and West in the Bush-Putin Era." In the Toll Room, Alumni House; a schedule will be announced. Sponsored by ISEES and CSEES.

**Monday, April 15, 2002.** *Panel Discussion:* "From 1991 to 9-11: Ten Years of Independence in the Caucasus." Sponsored by ISEES, BPS, CCAsP, and the Armenian Studies Program.

**April 19–21, 2002.** *Performance:* Yo-Yo Ma and Mark Morris Dance Group. This performance is part of the Silk Road Project, established by Yo-Yo Ma, that will convene 14 events during April 19–28. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, Fri.–Sat. 8 p.m., Sun. 3 p.m. Fees: \$34–68; ask about student/UCB/senior discounts. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Saturday, April 20, 2002.** *Performance:* Peter and Zoltan Katona, Hungarian guitarists. At Herbst Theatre, 401 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$24/34; tickets may be purchased by phone or on line. Contact: SF Performances, <http://www.performances.org/> or (415) 392-2545.

**Monday–Tuesday, April 22–23, 2002.** *Conference:* "A Musical Journey Along the Silk Roads." Organized in conjunction with the Silk Road Project. In Hertz Hall; a schedule will be announced. Sponsored by ISEES, CCAsP, the Department of Near Eastern Studies, the Department of Music, the Department of Art History, and Cal Performances.

**Tuesday–Wednesday, April 23–24, 2002.** *Performance:* Yo-Yo Ma and the Silk Road Ensemble. This is part of the Silk Road Project, April 19–28. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. both dates. Fees: \$34–68. See 4/19–21 event for contact information.

**Friday, April 26, 2002.** *Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference:* "Political Violence in Russia and Eastern Europe." At Stanford University; a schedule will be announced. Sponsored by the Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford University and ISEES.

**Sunday, April 28, 2002.** *Performance:* Silk Road Ensemble, international ensemble of young musicians. This is part of the Silk Road Project, April 19–28. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$34. See 4/19–21 event for contact information.

# Associates of the Slavic Center

The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center (or have been enrolled due to their particular generosity toward Cal to support some aspect of Slavic & East European Studies), between August 15 and December 31, 2001. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extra-curricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance.

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For those of you who are not yet members, we encourage you to join. Those of you who have not renewed your membership in 2001, we urge you to do so now. We believe you will enjoy the stimulating programs; even if you cannot participate as often as you might wish, your continuing contribution critically supports the Center's mission and goals.

**Members (\$10 to \$100).** Members of ASC receive monthly "Updates" and special mailings to notify them of events and special activities, such as cultural performances and major conferences. In this way, notification of even last-minute items is direct.

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**Benefactors (\$500-up).** ASC Benefactors receive invitations to the dinner and evening programs associated with our annual conferences, such as the annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference in the spring.

**Center Circle (\$1,000-up).** In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the Center Circle will also become Chancellor's Associates of the University, joining a select group of alumni and friends who support Cal through unrestricted giving. Membership in this group offers a number of University benefits

*It is a policy of the University of California and the Berkeley Foundation that a portion of the gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds. Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.*

Send your check, made payable to the Regents of the University of California, to:

Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies  
University of California, Berkeley  
260 Stephens Hall # 2304  
Berkeley CA 94720-2304  
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# Fellowships and Other Opportunities

**ISEEES Travel Grants** provide up to \$400 in limited travel support for ISEEES-affiliated grad students and faculty. Awards are made to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive ISEEES funding in the past AY. To apply send request with budget. Deadline: on-going. Contact: Barbara Voytek, ISEEES, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; Tel: 510-643-6736; bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu.

The **Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize** is awarded an outstanding senior or honors thesis in the social sciences or humanities on some aspect of Serbian culture or history. Cal undergrads are eligible to apply. The application includes submission of the thesis and letters of recommendation. There is **no deadline** for this prize.

The **Hertlendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies** offers partial support in 2002-2003 to UC Berkeley-enrolled grad students working in Hungarian studies and/or US-Hungarian or European (including EU)-Hungarian relations. The application includes a dissertation prospectus or research proposal, one letter of recommendation, a budget, and a timeline. No electronic or faxed applications will be accepted. Deadline: **3/25/02**.

The **Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies** will award approximately \$10-13,000 for 2002-2003 to faculty and/or student projects that focus on the experience of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples. Possible projects entail research, instruction, colloquia, symposia, lecture series and publications, and creative thought and writing in the social sciences, humanities, and arts. Proposals should include a budget and a timeline. No electronic or faxed applications will be accepted. **Deadline: 3/25/02**.

Contact for all: Barbara Voytek at (510) 643-6736 or bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu; Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/funding.html>.

## American Councils for International Education (ACTR/ACCELS)

The **Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe Language Program** offers funding to grad students to study language in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Slovakia, and the Baltic states. Fellowships include round-trip airfare, tuition, housing, insurance, and a stipend. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: 3/1/02 (summer); 4/1/02 (fall semester and AY).

The **Regional Scholar Exchange Program** provides \$8,000–15,000 for round-trip travel, stipend, research affiliation, archive access, insurance, and logistical support in the field. Advanced grad students and faculty in the early to middle stages of their career who are between the ages of 24–60 may apply. Deadline: 2/15/02.

Contact for both: Outbound Program, ACTR/ACCELS, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; Fax: 202-833-7523; [outbound@actr.org](mailto:outbound@actr.org); <http://www.actr.org/>.

## Australian National University

The **Humanities Research Centre** offers **Visiting Fellowships** to postdocs for short-term (up to 3 months) research projects. The 2003

theme is "Culture, Environment and Human Rights"; non-thematic projects are welcome too. Deadline: 2/15/02. Contact: Programs Manager, Humanities Research Centre, ANU, Canberra ACT 0200, Australia; Tel: 61-2-6125-2700; Fax: 61-2-6248-0054; [administration.hrc@anu.edu.au](mailto:administration.hrc@anu.edu.au); <http://www.anu.edu.au/HRC/>.

## Berkeley Language Center

**Professional Development Fellowships for Lecturers** are available for one semester during the next AY to lecturers or language program coordinators. Research projects might include: design/development of instructional materials; development of course syllabi or curricular innovations; independent study, including enrolling in a UCB course; empirical study on the acquisition of the four skills in the language classroom; preparation of a research paper for presentation or publication. Deadline: 3/5/02. Contact: Professor Claire Krampsch, BLC Fellowship Program, Berkeley Language Center, B-40 Dwinelle Hall #2640; [cramsche@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:cramsche@socrates.berkeley.edu); <http://blc.berkeley.edu/>.

## Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

The **Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship** provides up to \$12,000 to a student writing a dissertation on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women's studies, or library sciences. All degree requirements, up to the dissertation, must be completed by the time of the award.

The **Dorosh Master's Fellowship** provides up to \$10,000 to a student writing a thesis on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women's studies, or library sciences. All degree requirements, up to the thesis, must be completed by the time of the award.

The **Neprorany Research and Teaching Fellowship** provides up to \$20,000 for postdoc research in Ukrainian studies at any university with appropriate research facilities and where the fellow can teach a related course. Deadline: 3/1/02.

The **Kowalsky Programme for the Study of Eastern Ukraine** offers **Research Grants** that fund research on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in history, literature, language, education, or social sciences.

Deadline for all: 3/1/02. Contact: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 352 Athabasca Hall, Edmonton AB, Canada T6G 2E8; [cius@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca](mailto:cius@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca); <http://www.ualberta.ca/~cius/>.

## Center for International Security and Cooperation

**Pre- and Postdoctoral Fellowships** provide funding for concentrated study related to peace and international security, including Europe, Asia, and the FSU. Predoctoral awards are \$20,000; postdoc awards start at \$33,000, commensurate with experience. Fellows spend the AY at Stanford, participating in the CISAC community.

**Hamburg Predoctoral Fellowships for the Prevention of Deadly Conflict** award \$20,000 to advanced grad students from a broad range of disciplines studying the prevention of deadly conflict. Fellows will have an office at CISAC and participate in year-end symposium.

Deadline for both: 2/1/02. Contact: Barbara Platt, Fellowship Coordinator, Stanford University, CISAC, 320 Galvez St, Stanford CA 94305-6165; Tel: 650-723-9626; Fax: 650-723-0089; [barbara.platt@stanford.edu](mailto:barbara.platt@stanford.edu); <http://cisac.stanford.edu/>.

### **Center for Studies in Higher Education**

**Higher Education Policy Issues Grants** provide \$2,500–5,000 to grads and \$5,000–10,000 to faculty to conduct multi-disciplinary research on policy issues in higher education. Grad students and faculty in the UC system are eligible. See Web site for research themes.

Deadline: 2/28/02. Contact: Center for Studies in Higher Education, UC Berkeley, South Hall Annex 4650, Berkeley CA 94720-4650; Tel: 510-642-5040; Fax: 510-643-6845; cshe@socrates.berkeley.edu; <http://ishi.lib.berkeley.edu/cshe/>.

### **CET Academic Programs**

The **Jewish Studies in Prague Fellowship** offers funding to participate in the Jewish Studies in Prague program, conducted through Charles University. Deadline: 3/1/02 (summer); 5/1/02 (fall). Contact: CET Academic Programs, 1000 16th St NW Ste 350, Washington DC 20036-5705; Tel: 800-225-4262; [cet@academic-travel.com](mailto:cet@academic-travel.com); <http://www.cetacademicprograms.com/>.

### **Civic Education Project**

The **Visiting Lecturer Program** provides a local-currency salary paid by host university, housing, round-trip airfare/ground transportation for scholar and spouse, a stipend, health insurance, assistance with deferring student loans, and language instruction. The program places foreign academics in the social sciences (from advanced grad students through emeritus faculty) for at least one AY at universities across Central & South-East Europe and Eurasia. Deadline: 2/15/02. Contact: Civic Education Project, Application Committee, 1140 Chapel St Ste 2A, New Haven CT 06511; Tel: 203-781-0263; Fax: 203-781-0265; [cep@cep.org.hu](mailto:cep@cep.org.hu); <http://www.cep.org.hu/>.

### **Collegium Budapest**

The **Institute for Advanced Study** offers **Junior Fellowships** for research on Central and Eastern Europe in any field while in residence. Projects on the cultural, socio-political, and economic transformation of the region and in emerging disciplines and problem areas are encouraged. Deadline: 6/15/02. Contact: Collegium Budapest, Junior Fellowships, Szentharonsag u. 2., H-1014 Budapest; Tel: 36-1-22-48-300; Fax: 36-1-22-48-310; [vera.kempa@colbud.hu](mailto:vera.kempa@colbud.hu); <http://www.colbud.hu/>.

### **Columbia University**

The **Center for the Study of Law and Culture** at Columbia Law School offers **Fellowships in Law and Culture** of \$15,000 plus office space. Residential fellows undertake research, writing, and discussion in ways that span traditional academic disciplines on the AY's theme, "Law, Culture and Citizenship." Deadline: 2/15/02. Contact: Center for the Study of Law and Culture, Columbia University, 435 W 116th St, New York NY 10027; [culture@law.columbia.edu](mailto:culture@law.columbia.edu); <http://www.law.columbia.edu/law&culture/>.

### **Dartmouth College**

The **Leslie Center for the Humanities** offers a two-year **Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship** of \$40,800 per AY, benefits, and a research allowance. Fellows pursue their research and teach. Deadline: 3/1/02. Contact: Dean Sandra Gregg, Dartmouth College, Wentworth Hall HB 6045, Hanover NH 03755; [Sandra.L.Gregg@dartmouth.edu](mailto:Sandra.L.Gregg@dartmouth.edu); <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~hri/mellon.html>.

### **Five College Women's Studies Research Center**

**Women's Studies Research Associateships** provide a \$12,000 stipend plus a \$3,000 housing/travel allowance for research and teaching on women's studies while in residence at one of the five colleges. Also, opportunities are available to feminist scholars, teachers, artists, writers, and activists for non-stipendiary visiting residencies.

Deadline: 2/8/02. Contact: Five College Women's Studies Research Center, Mount Holyoke College, 50 College St, South Hadley MA 01075-6406; Tel: 413-538-2275; Fax: 413-538-3121; [fcwsrc@wscenter.hampshire.edu](mailto:fcwsrc@wscenter.hampshire.edu); <http://wscenter.hampshire.edu/>.

### **Ford Foundation**

**Dissertation Fellowships for Minorities** provide a \$21,500 stipend for doctoral students of specified minority groups enrolled in a US institution. Applicants must be US citizens with no other doctoral degree and wish to pursue a career in teaching and research. Deadline: 2/14/02. Contact: Fellowship Office/FF, National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Ave, Washington DC 20418; Tel: 202-334-2872; [infocell@nas.edu](mailto:infocell@nas.edu); <http://www4.nationalacademies.org/pga/fo.nsf>.

### **Human Rights Center**

**Summer Internships with Human Rights Organizations** provide \$2,500 to enable students to carry out clearly defined projects and/or internships with specific organizations related to the student's area of study. Deadline: 2/28/02. Contact: Harvey M. Weinstein, Associate Director, Human Rights Center, 460 Stephens Hall # 2300, Berkeley CA 94720-2300; Tel: 510-642-0965; Fax: 510-643-3830; <http://www.hrcberkeley.org/>.

### **Institute of International Studies**

The **Bendix Dissertation Fellowship** is awarded to a promising Berkeley graduate student in political and social theory.

The **Sharlin Award** is given to a Berkeley graduate student conducting dissertation research in historical sociology, historical demography, or social history.

**Simpson Dissertation Fellowships in International and Comparative Studies** are awarded to Berkeley graduate students conducting dissertation research. See Web site for themes that are given priority for funding.

Deadline for all: 4/1/02. Contact: IIS, 215 Moses Hall #2308; Tel: 510-642-2472; <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/fellowship/>.

### **Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation**

**Standard Dissertation Fellowships** provide a 9-month stipend of \$12,000 with up to \$4,000 for research or travel for first year recipients; \$5,000 partial awards may be made for travel/research only. Applicants must be currently enrolled UC grad students in any discipline who will advance to Ph.D. candidacy by June of the current AY.

The **IGDC-UCDC Fellowship in Foreign Policy Studies** provides a 9-month stipend of \$12,000 with up to \$4,000 to first-year applicants for travel and research; \$1,500 is awarded to renewals. This dissertation fellowship requires residence at the IGCC Washington DC office for at least one quarter of the award term.

Deadline for both: 2/1/02. See program Web site at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>. Contact: IGCC, UC Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, 215 Moses Hall # 2308; Tel: 510-642-2472; Fax: 510-642-9493; <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/>.

### **International Research & Exchanges Board**

The **Black and Caspian Seas Collaborative Research Program** offers grants up to \$25,000 to a collaborative team of grad students and/or postgraduate scholars conducting up to one year of research that focuses on issues of practical relevance and current interest to academic, corporate, and policymaking communities. The collaborative team must consist of three people minimum: at least one US citizen or

permanent resident and at least two citizens and current residents of two different countries of the Black and Caspian Seas region at the time of application. Deadline: 5/1/02.

**Short Term Travel Grants** provide up to 2 months of funding for scholarly projects focusing on Central and Eastern Europe, Eurasia, Turkey, and Iran. US citizens or permanent residents are eligible to apply. Deadline: 2/1/02.

Contact for both: IREX, 1616 H St NW, Washington DC 20006; Tel: 202-628-8188; Fax: 202-628-8189; irex@irex.org; <http://www.irex.org/>.

#### National Council for Eurasian and East European Research

The **Ed Hewett Fellowship** provides up to \$40,000 to support research on former Soviet Union and/or Central and Eastern Europe conducted by an individual scholar under the auspices of a US government agency. Applicants must be US-based scholars holding a Ph.D. in the humanities or social sciences. Deadline: 3/15/02.

The **NCEER National Research Competition** will award **Research Contracts** that provide up to \$70,000 as an institutional award for a collaboration between two or more scholars and **Research Grants** of up to \$40,000 to individuals. These fund postdoctoral research on the social, political, economic, environmental, and historical development of Eastern Europe and the FSU. Deadline: 2/15/02.

Contact for all: National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, 910 17th St NW Ste 300, Washington DC 20006; Tel: 202-822-6950; Fax: 202-822-6955; nceerdc@aol.com; <http://www.nceer.org/>.

#### National Security Education Program

The **David L. Boren Graduate Fellowship** provides up to \$28,000 for up to 6 semesters of research which may combine domestic language and cultural study with overseas study. Fellowships must include study of a modern foreign language and the study of an area and culture deemed critical to US national security. Recipients must be willing to enter into a service agreement. Deadline: 2/1/02. Contact: Academy for Educational Development/NSEP, 1875 Connecticut Ave NW Ste 900, Washington DC 20009-1202; Tel: 202-884-8285; Fax: 202-498-9360; nsep@aed.org; <http://www.aed.org/nsep/>.

#### Network of East-West Women

The **Legal Fellowship Program** provides a one-year stipend to women attorneys from Central and Eastern Europe, the NIS, or Russia to acquire additional skills needed to work effectively on women's rights in their own countries. Attorneys who have graduated from law studies in the past five years are eligible to apply. Applications should be sent by email. Deadline: 2/1/02. Contact: Erin Barclay, Network of East-West Women, 1761 S St NW Ste LL-12, Washington DC 20009; ebarclay@neww.org; <http://www.neww.org/>.

#### Newberry Library

**Short Term Fellowships** offers short-term funding of 1 week to 2 months at \$1,200/month. Postdoctoral scholars or Ph.D. candidates from outside of the Chicago area who have a specific need for Newberry collections may apply. Deadline: 2/20/02. Contact: Committee on Awards, 60 W Walton St, Chicago IL 60610-3380; Tel: 312-225-3666; research@newberry.org; <http://www.newberry.org/>.

#### Open Society Institute

The **Network Scholarship Programs Department** offers **Global Supplementary Grants** to students from Albania, Armenia,

Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Yugoslavia. The program enables students to pursue doctoral studies in the humanities and social sciences at universities in Western Europe, Asia, Australia, and North America. Grants cover: tuition and fees, living expenses, travel, books, health insurance. Deadline: 4/1/02. Contact: Global Supplementary Grant Program, Open Society Institute, Network Scholarship Programs, 400 W 59th St, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-548-0175; Fax: 212-548-4652; scholar@sorosny.org; <http://www.soros.org/scholar/index.html>.

#### Social Science Research Council

The **Program on the Arts** offers **Dissertation Fellowships** of \$16,500 for research on the social dimension of art in relation to issues such as globalization, multiculturalism, and new technologies. Applicants must be full-time Ph.D. students in the social sciences in the US who have advanced to candidacy by the deadline. Deadline: 3/1/02. Contact: Program on the Arts, Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave 31st Fl, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700 ext 453; Fax: 212-377-2727; arts@ssrc.org; <http://www.ssrc.org/>.

#### UC Berkeley

**Bancroft Library Study Awards** provide funding to outstanding continuing students enrolled at any UC campus who plan to conduct advanced research on a subject for which source materials are available in the Bancroft Library. Deadline: 2/4/02.

**Chancellor's Dissertation-Year Fellowships** are for outstanding UCB students in the humanities and social sciences who advanced to candidacy at the time of the award and expect to finish their dissertations during the award year. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak to your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/1/02.

**Mentored Research Awards** give academically-promising grad students the opportunity to do research and strengthen their working relationships with faculty advisors. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents whose background and life experiences enhance the diversity with the department or discipline. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak to your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/1/02.

**Soroptimist International Founder Region Women's Fellowships** are for outstanding women doctoral students, preferably in their last year of study. Deadline: 2/2/02.

**UC Dissertation Year Fellowships** are awarded to eligible grad students whose doctoral work will be completed by the end of the award and who demonstrate strong potential for university teaching and research. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents whose background and life experiences enhance the diversity with the department or discipline. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak to your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/3/02.

Contact for all: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships\\_deadlines.shtml](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml).

#### University of Illinois

Applications are being accepted for the **Summer Research Laboratory on Russia and Eastern Europe**, 6/10-8/2/02. Some free housing is available: 28 days for grad students, 14 for others. Full library

privileges are given. Programs held during 6/10-7/5 include a symposium on "Islam from Eastern Europe to Central Asia," workshops, lectures, and films. Deadline: 4/1/02. Contact: Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 104 International Studies Bldg, 910 S Fifth St, Champaign IL 61820; Tel: 217-333-1244; Fax: 217-333-1582; reec@uiuc.edu; <http://www.reec.uiuc.edu/srl.htm>.

#### **University of Virginia**

The **Miller Center of Public Affairs** offers **Fellowships in Contemporary Politics, Policy and Political History** up to \$15,000 to complete dissertations, while in residence, on 20th-century politics and governance in the US. Applicants must be a Ph.D. candidate who will complete the dissertation during the AY or an independent scholar working on a book; this is not for postdocs. Deadline: 2/1/02. Contact: Jon Stokes, American Political Development Program, Miller Center of Public Affairs, PO Box 400406, Charlottesville VA 22904-4406; jjstokes@virginia.edu; <http://millercenter.virginia.edu/fellowship.html>.

#### **US Dept of Education / UC Berkeley**

**Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Academic Year Fellowships** enable grad students who are US citizens and permanent residents to acquire a high level of competence in one or more foreign languages. Fellowships are awarded to students in modern foreign language and area studies, with priority given to students in the humanities, social sciences, and professional fields. Applications can be downloaded from [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/pdf/flas\\_ay0203.pdf](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/pdf/flas_ay0203.pdf). Deadline: 2/4/02.

**Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Intensive Language Training Fellowships** enable grad students who are US citizens and permanent residents to acquire a high level of competence in one or more foreign languages. Fellowships are awarded to students in modern foreign language and area studies, with priority given to students in the humanities, social sciences, and professional fields. The summer award should provide the equivalent of one full year of language instruction. Applications can be downloaded from [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/pdf/flas\\_summer02.pdf](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/pdf/flas_summer02.pdf). Deadline: 3/4/02.

Contact for both: Gina Farales, Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900, UC Berkeley; Tel: 510-642-0672; [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships\\_deadlines.shtml](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml).

#### **Wenner-Gren Foundation**

**Individual Research Grants** provide up to \$20,000 for basic research in all branches of anthropology, to seed innovative approaches and ideas, cover specific expenses or phases of a project, and/or encourage aid from other funding agencies. Deadline: 5/1/02.

**Professional Development International Fellowships** provide up to \$12,500/year in predoctoral funding and up to \$30,000/year to postdocs. Library residencies are also available for advanced students to travel to libraries with outstanding collections in anthropology, providing up to \$5,000 for 3 months. Fellowships are for scholars and advanced students from countries in which anthropology or specific subfields of anthropology are underrepresented and who therefore seek additional training. Deadline: 3/1/02; none for Library Residencies.

Contact for all: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc., 220 Fifth Ave 16th Fl, New York NY 10001-7708; Tel: 212-683-5000; Fax: 212-683-9151; <http://www.wennergren.org/>.

#### **William Davidson Institute**

The **Public Policy and Business Development in the Balkans Research Competition** provides \$10,000-35,000 grants to US scholars for research on the Balkans focusing on either business development and performance or public policies which affect the development of markets. Applicants must have a Ph.D. or be Ph.D. candidates and must show demonstrated commitment to studying transition economies in Central and Eastern Europe. Deadline: 2/28/02. Contact: Deborah Jahn, djahn@umich.edu; William Davidson Institute, University of Michigan, 724 E University Ave, Ann Arbor MI 48109-1234; Tel: 734-763-5020; Fax: 734-763-5850; <http://www.wdi.bus.umich.edu/research/call/>.

#### **Woodrow Wilson Center**

The **East European Studies Program** offers a **Junior Scholars Training Seminar** for Ph.D. students at the dissertation level or those who received a Ph.D. in the past year. Research is open to any field of East European or Baltic studies, excluding Russia and the FSU. Deadline: 4/15/02. Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; kneppm@wwic.si.edu; <http://wwics.si.edu/ees/grants.htm>.

**East European Studies Short Term Grants** provide a stipend of \$100/day, up to one month, to grad students and postdocs who are engaged in specialized research requiring access to Washington, DC and its research institutions. Grants do not include residence at the Wilson Center. Deadline: 3/1/02, 6/01/02. Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; kneppm@wwic.si.edu; <http://wwics.si.edu/ees/grants.htm>.

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# Money for Graduate Students

## Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships

The Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships program provides fellowships to assist graduate students in the study of modern foreign languages.

Fellowships are available for both the academic year and the summer. Fellowships cover fees and tuition and provide a stipend.

Academic Year 2002—2003  
\$12,000-15,000 stipend plus tuition & fees  
Deadline: February 4, 2002

Summer 2002  
\$6,000 stipend plus program costs  
Deadline: March 4, 2002

Who is eligible to apply?

- \* Graduate students in humanities, social sciences, and professional fields.
- \* Citizens, national, or permanent residents of the United States
- \* Enrollment in modern foreign language study required

For more information, contact:

Gina Farales  
Graduate Fellowships Office, U.C. Berkeley  
318 Sproul Hall  
(510) 642-0672  
<http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/>

